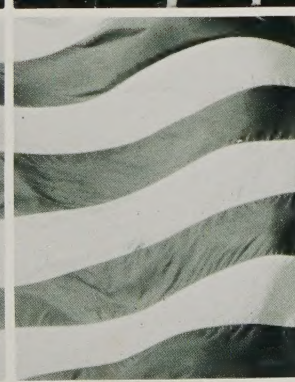
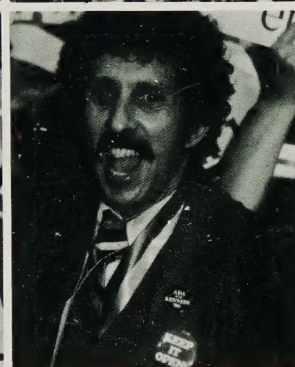
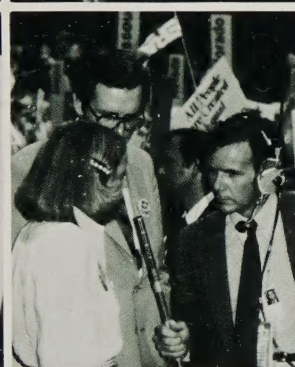
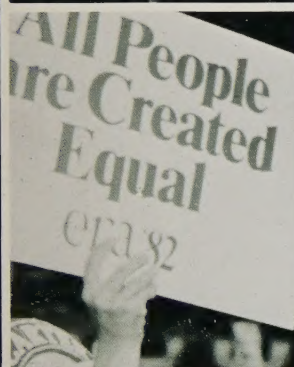



Guide to

Government by the People

BURNS/PELTASON/CRONIN



LEE / PALMER / BURKHART



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GOVERNMENT
BY
the People

Guide to
Government
by
the People

Guide to National Edition

Burns, Peltason, and Cronin

Government by the People

11TH
EDITION

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Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 07632

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Preface

The basic goal of this new edition of GUIDE TO GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE is that of its predecessors -- to offer the reader a rational way to learn about American Government. To that end we have tried to focus on the most significant aspects of each chapter of the text. In the final analysis we believe that all true education is self-education; that no one can claim any concept as his own until he can use it. We hope to shorten that process by making students their own tutors.

We owe a long-term debt to those students and teachers who have taken time to write us about the strengths and weaknesses of this Guide since it was first published in 1963. But obviously our greatest indebtedness is to Professor James MacGregor Burns of Williams College, President J. W. Peltason, American Council on Education, and Professor Thomas E. Cronin, Colorado College. Their lively, insightful approach to American government is the basis of this workbook. GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE is entering its fourth decade and eleventh edition, still displaying all of its original zest.

In preparing this edition we have sorely missed Jim Burkhart, whose death in 1979 ended a series of joint publishing ventures stretching back into the 1940's. His enthusiasm for the teaching-learning process was unflagging.

We also owe a debt to our colleagues, whose ideas we have shamelessly pirated. Especially worthy of mention is Professor Bert A. Smith of IUP, a skillful, seasoned teacher who has used various versions of the Guide over many years. Finally, no list of acknowledgements would be complete without citing our secretary, Kathy Nowinsky, who has converted our crabbed, barely legible handwriting into manuscript pages from which publishing was possible.

Indiana, Pennsylvania
November, 1980

Raymond L. Lee
Dorothy A. Palmer

How to Use This Guide

This Guide is designed to supplement and complement James MacGregor Burns, J. W. Peltason, and Thomas E. Cronin's GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, 11th edition. It should speed your out-of-class preparation and improve your test performance when used in a variety of ways: While you are studying; as you finish a chapter; or to review several chapters in preparation for an exam. We would like to suggest a basic study plan that most students have found to be very successful.

First, examine the Chapter Outline in the Guide to get an overview of the text chapter you are about to read. Next, take the pretest. After checking your answers (found at the end of each chapter), read the text chapter with the outline in mind, concentrating especially on those sections where you may have missed Pretest questions. Now, retake the Pretest and check all missed answers. Move on to the Programmed Review Section, again rechecking all missed answers in the text. Lastly, take the Posttest, using the same procedure.

Finally,, examine all items in the Key Concepts section until you are confident that you have a suitable answer for each item in mind.

Before each major unit test recheck your knowledge by reviewing all questions in the pertinent Guide Chapters.

May we wish you "Best of Preparation" for this course, rather than "Best of Luck."

Chapter 1

The making of a republic—1787

Americans are governed under a written constitution that is nearly two centuries old. The original document has been amended and interpreted since 1787 to make it conform more nearly to American goals of openness, representation, and responsibility. That search in one sense is the very essence of American democracy. In this chapter, we look at how the framers approached the problem of building a strong national government and at the background from which the federal Constitution came.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. THE STRUGGLE TO GET AND KEEP A REPUBLIC

II. A CONSTITUTIONAL REPUBLIC

- A. Basic democratic premises: importance of individual, equal rights, individual freedom
- B. Liberty and equality
- C. Basic democratic processes: equal voting rights, access to competing ideas, right to organize politically, majority rule.

III. ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC

- A. A conservative revolution
- B. Weak central government under the Articles (1781-88)
- C. Constitution drafted, Philadelphia Convention (1787)
- D. Intention: to create stronger constitutional republic
- E. Compromises: representation, taxation
- F. Disputed motives of framers: idealism v. self-interest

IV. THE ADOPTION DEBATE

- A. For adoption: Federalists (city and seaboard); opposed: Antifederalists (back-country farmers)
- B. The Federalist
- C. Antifederalist demand for a bill of rights
- D. Ratification within a year (1788)

V. INTO THE THIRD CENTURY

- A. The evolving Constitution
- B. Open representation and accountability still unresolved
- C. Maintaining a republic

PRETEST

1. One of the following words is not at the heart of American beliefs
 - a. competition
 - b. freedom
 - c. liberty
 - d. equality
2. When democracy is described as a process, we emphasize
 - a. equal voting rights
 - b. the supreme worth of the individual
 - c. individual freedom as a goal of government
 - d. liberty and justice for all
3. Advocates of democracy argue that the public interest is best discovered by
 - a. consulting top social scientists
 - b. permitting all adults to have a vote
 - c. entrusting decision making to political party leaders
 - d. the creation of philosopher-kings
4. Democracy as a theory of government is centered on
 - a. the individual
 - b. political parties
 - c. interest groups
 - d. an independent judiciary
5. Constitutionalism as a part of democratic government serves to
 - a. define and limit the government's power
 - b. expand the authority of officials
 - c. protect the rights of the majority
 - d. safeguard against revolution
6. Under the Articles of Confederation, government power was concentrated in

- a. the president
 - b. the courts
 - c. the people
 - (d.) the state legislatures
7. The historian who argued that the founding fathers wrote the Constitution to protect their property rights was
- a. Diamond
 - b. Brown
 - c. McDonald
 - (d.) Beard
8. The American Revolution is best described as
- (a.) conservative
 - b. bloody
 - c. radical
 - d. reactionary
9. The best characterization of the framers of the constitution would be
- a. visionary idealists
 - b. political philosophers
 - (c.) experienced, practical politicians
 - d. spokesmen for the average person
10. The Three-fifths Compromise did not deal with one of the following
- a. counting slaves
 - b. taxation
 - c. representation
 - d. treaty ratification

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To examine the major characteristics of democracy as a form of government

1. oligarchy is a system of government in which power is centralized in a few hands
2. _____ is the term used to describe government by the many
3. A representative democracy is commonly called a Republic
4. A constitutional government normally limits the power of officials
5. The central measure of value in a democracy is the Individual
6. The doctrine of separation makes the community or state the measure of value

7. self or free are terms used to describe the right of an individual to set his own goals
8. In modern America the two major values that are in a state of tension and interaction are equality and liberty
9. The basic democratic principles involved in elections is one person, one vote
10. In democracies elections are decided by majority vote
11. To have a truly democratic election citizens must have the right to choose

Knowledge Objective: To analyze the structure of government under the Articles of Confederation and the events that lead to their abandonment

12. French revolutionaries of 1789 demanded the "rights of man"; American revolutionists demanded their rights as Englishmen
13. During the period 1781-89, Americans were governed under their first constitution, the Articles
14. Under the Articles of Confederation a weak was created, rather than a national government
15. The need to strengthen the machinery of government was demonstrated during the winter of 1786-87 by a debtor's protest known as Shays' Rebellion

Knowledge Objective: To discover how the Constitutional Convention of 1787 went about creating a "more perfect union"

16. The framers of the Constitution were guided chiefly by experience rather than theory
17. At the Constitutional Convention of 1787, George Washington presided; James Madison kept full notes; Benjamin Franklin was the highly respected elder statesman
18. To encourage open discussion and compromise, proceedings of the Constitutional Convention were private
19. To break the deadlock over transportation, the Connecticut Compromise provided that one house of Congress be based on population; the other on equality
20. The thesis that the founding fathers wrote the new Constitution primarily to protect their property rights was advanced by James Madison

Knowledge Objective: To examine the political strategy that led to adoption of the new Constitution

21. Adoption of the new Constitution required ratification by 9 states
22. Those who opposed adoption of the Constitution were called anti-federalists
23. Hamilton, Jay, and Madison wrote a series of essays urging adoption of the Constitution that are known collectively as The Federalist
24. Opposition to the new Constitution was largely concentrated in the rural regions
25. The strategy of those who favored adoption of the Constitution was winning support in the states

POSTTEST

1. A democratic government is one in which all citizens have equal
 - a. political influence
 - ☒ b. voting power
 - c. social status
 - d. economic benefits
2. Believers in democracy do not accept
 - ☒ a. statism
 - b. equality
 - c. individualism
 - d. liberty
3. In modern America, two concepts once thought to be opposites exist in any uneasy relationship
 - ☒ a. equality and liberty
 - b. federal and unitary government
 - c. oligarchy and autocracy
 - d. socialism and capitalism
4. Only one of these revolutionary leaders was present at the Constitutional Convention
 - a. Thomas Jefferson
 - b. Sam Adams
 - c. Patrick Henry
 - ☒ d. Alexander Hamilton
5. The incident that did most to destroy faith in government under the Articles of Confederation was
 - ☒ a. the Whiskey Rebellion
 - b. Shay's Rebellion
 - c. the Loyalist revolt
 - d. the Indian uprising

6. The Founding Fathers favored all but one of the following ideas
- ☒ a. a unicameral legislature
 - ☐ b. a strong executive
 - ☐ c. an independent judiciary
 - ☐ d. a more powerful Congress
7. The Connecticut Compromise found a middle ground on the issue of
- ☒ a. representation
 - ☐ b. slavery
 - ☐ c. the court system
 - ☐ d. the electoral college
8. The authors of The Federalist include all but one of the following
- ☐ a. Hamilton
 - ☒ b. Jefferson
 - ☐ c. Madison
 - ☐ d. Jay
9. To secure ratification, supporters of the Constitution promised
- ☐ a. presidential veto power
 - ☒ b. a bill of rights
 - ☐ c. a federal income tax
 - ☐ d. a Homestead Act
10. Only one of the following statements is true of the ratification process
- ☐ a. The opponents tried to get a quick "no" vote.
 - ☐ b. Most newspapers were Federalist opponents.
 - ☒ c. Most of the opponents were in rural areas.
 - ☐ d. Opposition was concentrated in the small states.

KEY CONCEPTS

- Differentiate:
- a. Constitutional republic and oligarchy
 - b. Direct democracy and a republic
 - c. Democracy and statism
- Describe: How liberty and equality are interrelated
- List: Four factors necessary for the democratic process
- Explain: Why the American Revolution is considered conservative
- Identify: Weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation
- Indicate: At what point the framers of the Constitution
- a. agreed
 - b. disagreed
 - c. compromised

<u>Discuss:</u>	The motives of the founding fathers
<u>Explain:</u>	The Federalist strategy to secure adoption of the Constitution
<u>Analyze:</u>	The following quotations: "A Republic ... if you can keep it." "We no longer sail upon a summer sea."

ANSWERS

Pretest

1. a
2. a
3. b
4. a
5. a
6. d
7. d
8. a
9. c
10. a

Programmed Review

1. Oligarchy
2. democracy
3. republic
4. limits
5. individual
6. statism
7. liberty; freedom
8. liberty; equality
9. one
10. majority
11. organize
12. Englishmen
13. Articles of Confederation
14. league of friendship
15. Shay's Rebellion
16. experience
17. Washington; Madison; Franklin
18. kept secret
19. population; equality
20. Charles Beard
21. nine
22. Anti-Federalist
23. The Federalist
24. back country
25. quick ratification

Posttest

1. b
2. a
3. a
4. d
5. b
6. a
7. a
8. b
9. b
10. c

Chapter 2

The living constitution

Although the framers of the Constitution wanted a strong government, they also feared concentrated political power. In this chapter we examine the restraints that were built into the Constitution (separation of powers, checks and balances, judicial review), and the flexibility our constitutional system has displayed in adjusting to changing conditions.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. CHECKS ON POWER

- A. Separation of powers: division between state and national governments and between the three branches of government
- B. Checks and balances: shared powers, independent political bases, different terms of office, ambition against ambition
- C. Judicial review: established by Marbury v. Madison

II. EVOLUTION OF THE CHECKS AND BALANCES SYSTEM

The original checks and balances system has been modified by several political developments;

- A. The rise of political parties
- B. Changes in electoral methods
- C. Creation of regulatory agencies
- D. Changes in technology
- E. The fact that the United States has become a world power
- F. The expansion of presidential power
- G. The contrasts between the American and the British systems

III. GROWTH OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

- A. Congressional elaboration: structure of government and impeachment
- B. Presidential practices: center of American political system
- C. Judicial interpretation
- D. Constitutional Flexibility: adaption to new conditions without amendment

IV. AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

- A. Congressional initiative: proposed by two-thirds vote of each House, ratified by three-fourths of states
- B. National convention: amendments proposed by national convention, never used
- C. Results of the amendment process
- D. Ratification Politics: ERA and D.C. Amendment

PRETEST

1. The branch of government most likely to dominate in the framers' opinion was the
 - a. bureaucracy
 - ☒ b. executive
 - c. judicial
 - d. legislative
2. The Nixon impeachment process is a good example of constitutional development by way of
 - ☒ a. judicial review
 - b. presidential practice
 - c. congressional elaboration
 - d. custom and usage
3. The presidential nominating convention is a good example of constitutional development by way of
 - a. presidential practice
 - b. congressional elaboration
 - c. custom and usage
 - d. judicial interpretation
4. With one exception, ratification of constitutional amendments has been by action of
 - a. the president
 - b. the Supreme Court
 - c. state conventions
 - d. state legislatures

Match the items in the left column with the correct items from the right column (continues on page 11)

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 5. separation of powers | a. based on custom |
| 6. checks and balances | b. lame duck Congress |
| 7. shared powers | c. divides power among three branches |

8. Marbury v. Madison
9. impeachment
10. informal Constitution
- d. independent branches that are interdependent
- e. established principle of judicial review
- f. charges brought by House of Representatives
- g. president signs congressional bill

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To analyze the original constitutional arrangements that diffused political power

1. In the United States, the symbol of national loyalty and unity has been the _____
2. The constitutional arrangement that allocated certain powers to the the national government and reserved the rest for the states is called _____
3. The framers of the Constitution did not fully trust either _____ or the _____
4. The division of the constitutional authority among three branches of the national government is known as _____
5. The framers devised a system of shared power that is described by the term _____
6. The varying terms of office for national officials were intended to prevent rapid changes by a popular _____
7. In the United States the ultimate keeper of our constitutional conscience is the _____
8. The court case that established the practice of judicial review was _____ v. _____

Knowledge Objective: To examine the developments that have modified the original checks and balances system

9. The president, Congress, and even judges have been drawn together in the American system by _____
10. Originally neither the _____ nor _____ were elected directly by the people
11. Legislative, executive, and judicial functions are combined in some agencies, weakening the concept of _____

12. In the modern United States, the branch of government that has acquired the greatest power is the _____
13. The British system concentrates power and control in the _____

Knowledge Objective: To trace evolution of the Constitution by custom and interpretation

14. The customs, traditions, and rules that have evolved over the past two centuries are referred to as an _____ Constitution
15. The structure of the national judicial system was defined by action of _____
16. The most discussed example of congressional elaboration of the Constitution during the Nixon years was the _____ process
17. _____ age realities have increased the importance of the presidency
18. The constitution has been adapted to changing times largely through judicial _____

Knowledge Objectives: To analyze the amendment process and the constitutional changes made by it

19. To initiate a constitutional amendment requires a _____ vote by both houses of congress
20. Although it has never been used, an amendment can be proposed by a _____
21. A proposed amendment must be ratified in three-fourths of the states by either their _____ or _____
22. Congress (has, has not) proposed a great number of amendments

Knowledge Objective: To examine politics of the amendment process in the cases of ERA and the D.C. amendments

23. In the case of _____ Congress altered the normal process by extending the time for ratification
24. Equal Rights Amendment ratification has been blocked chiefly by a group of _____ states
25. Opposition to the D.C. Amendment has come from _____ and _____ districts

POSTTEST

1. The framers of the Constitution depended heavily on one of the following assumptions about human behavior
 - a. Ambition will serve to check ambition.
 - b. Most people want to do the right thing.
 - c. Men are normally apathetic.
 - d. Human savagery always lurks below the thin veneer of civilization.
2. The Founding Fathers created a system that
 - a. encouraged participatory democracy
 - b. favored the popular majority
 - c. restricted decision making by popular majority
 - d. emphasized prompt, decisive government action
3. The British democratic system differs from the American system in that
 - a. the queen reigns but doesn't rule
 - b. Parliament has only one house
 - c. government authority is concentrated in Parliament
 - d. the High Court exercises judicial review
4. The original checks and balances system has been modified by all but one of the following
 - a. the rise of political parties
 - b. creation of regulatory agencies
 - c. direct election of senators
 - d. giving representatives a four-year term
5. As originally drafted, the Constitution was expected to
 - a. cover all foreseeable situations
 - b. be a legal code, combining the framework of government and specific laws
 - c. be a general framework of government
 - d. be a philosophical statement of the relationships between individuals and society
6. The Constitution of the United States has been altered without formal amendment by all but one of the following methods
 - a. congressional elaboration
 - b. presidential practice
 - c. custom and usage
 - d. interposition by states
7. Compared to many state constitutions, the national constitution is more

- a. recent
 - b. complicated
 - c. specific
 - d. flexible
8. The major tool of the courts in checking the power of other government branches has been
- a. impeachment
 - b. habeas corpus
 - c. judicial review
 - d. common law
9. The constitutional arrangement that limits the power of American officials is known as
- a. Separation of powers
 - b. prohibitions on authority
 - c. sharing of powers
 - d. implied powers
10. During the Revolutionary period, legislatures
- a. were curbed by the checks and balances system
 - b. became the dominant branch of government
 - c. suffered from a steady decrease in power
 - d. governed firmly and wisely

KEY CONCEPTS

<u>Describe:</u>	The concept of separation of powers. Include federalism and the distinctions between the three branches of government
<u>Explain:</u>	How the framers attempted to pit political ambition against political ambition
<u>Differentiate:</u>	Between judicial review and judicial interpretation
<u>Discuss:</u>	How the rise of political parties and technological development served to modify the checks and balances system
<u>Identify:</u>	The major differences between the British and the U. S. political systems
<u>Indicate:</u>	The evolution of the American constitutional system in the following areas <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. congressional elaboration b. presidential practices c. judicial interpretation
<u>Explain:</u>	The two methods for proposing constitutional amendments and the two ratification methods

Discuss:

- a. The impeachment process outlined in the Constitution leaves little room for Congressional interpretation. Agree or disagree.
- b. Thomas Jefferson believed that every generation should write its own constitution. Agree or disagree.

Analyze:

Although the ERA Amendment has the support of dozens of strong interest groups, its ratification is in doubt. Why?

ANSWERS

Pretest

1. d
2. c
3. c
4. d
5. d
6. c
7. g
8. e
9. f
10. a

Programmed Review

1. Constitution
2. federalism
3. public officials; majority
4. separation of powers
5. checks and balances
6. majority
7. Supreme Court
8. Marbury v. Madison
9. political parties
10. president; senators
11. checks and balances
12. executive
13. legislative
14. informal
15. Congress
16. impeachment
17. nuclear
18. interpretation
19. two-thirds
20. national convention
21. legislators; ratifying conventions
22. has not
23. ERA
24. southern

25. rural: small town

Posttest

1. a
2. c
3. c
4. d
5. c
6. d
7. d
8. c
9. a
10. b

Chapter 3

American federalism: constitutional dynamics

The United States has a federal type of government, with power divided between the states and the nation. This division is spelled out in general terms in the Constitution. It is also an endless source of conflict. As this chapter demonstrates, a federal government is a good deal more complicated than one in which power is centralized or decentralized.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. WHY FEDERALISM?

- A. Terminology: unitary, confederation, federal system
- B. Historical reasons: political climate, limited transportation and communications, agrarian society
- C. Political advantages: ease of expansion, unity without uniformity, innovation

II. CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF FEDERALISM

- A. National powers: expressed, implied, inherent
- B. State powers: reserved, concurrent
- C. Constitutional limits and obligations at both levels
- D. Horizontal federalism: interstate relations (full faith and credit, privileges and immunities, extradition; interstate compacts)
- E. The realities of federalism today

III. TRIUMPH OF THE NATIONALIST INTERPRETATION

- A. Original states rights v. nationalist position
- B. McCulloch v. Maryland: establishment of doctrine of national supremacy (implied powers)
- C. Growth of national government: war, commerce, taxation, general welfare powers

IV. UMPIRING THE FEDERAL SYSTEM

- A. Role of federal courts
- B. Current debate over politics of federalism

PRETEST

1. Only one of the following Americans has been an advocate of states rights
 - a. John C. Calhoun
 - b. John Marshall
 - c. Abraham Lincoln
 - d. Theodore Roosevelt
2. One of the following countries does not have a unitary government
 - a. Great Britain
 - b. France
 - c. Philippines
 - d. Canada
3. A government whose constituent parts create a central authority without power over individuals is called
 - a. confederation
 - b. unitary
 - c. federal
 - d. republican
4. The best argument for retention of our federal system would be that it
 - a. prevents the centralization of power
 - b. provides cheap, efficient government
 - c. simplifies political party organization
 - d. provides both unity and diversity
5. The national government has all but one of the following powers
 - a. implied
 - b. inherent
 - c. reserved
 - d. delegated
6. The state governments have only one of the following sets of powers
 - a. delegated and reserved
 - b. reserved and concurrent
 - c. direct and inherent
 - d. expressed and implied

7. The states rights interpretation of the Constitution conflicts with one of these concepts
 - a. broad construction
 - b. reserved powers
 - c. treaty among sovereign states
 - d. state governments closer to people
8. The nationalist interpretation of the Constitution stresses all but one of the following
 - a. implied powers
 - b. national government as agent of states
 - c. inherent powers
 - d. constitutional preamble
9. The power of the national government that has not been a chief source of its expansion is
 - a. to coin money
 - b. to declare war
 - c. to regulate interstate commerce
 - d. to levy taxes
10. In the 1980's one of the following best defines the power of the national government
 - a. all power specifically delegated by the Constitution
 - b. delegated powers plus powers implied from the delegated ones
 - c. whatever needs to be done to promote the general welfare
 - d. dependent on which party is in power

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To contrast federalism with alternate forms of government and to discover what advantages it offers Americans

1. A _____ government divides power between a central government and constituent governments
2. The central government of a confederation exercises no power over _____
3. A _____ government vests all power in the central government
4. The relationship between American state and city governments is an example of the _____ form of government
5. A federal government provides for _____ without uniformity
6. Under our federal system such questions as divorce, gun control, and regulation of alcohol are _____ issues

7. The American people are most concerned with _____ politics
8. Most Americans believe that they get more from their tax dollars from the _____ government

Knowledge Objective: To define how the Constitution allots power and the limitations it imposes

9. The Constitution delegates to Congress both _____ powers and _____ powers
10. As an independent nation, the national government has certain _____ powers
11. The powers shared by the national and state governments are called _____ powers
12. The national government (has, has not) the power to fix wages for state employees
13. The Constitution requires that the national government guarantee to every state a _____ form of government
14. The _____ clause requires states to enforce civil judgments of other states
15. Under existing standards a state may use requirements to exclude out-of-state students from tuition benefits granted in-state students
16. The process by which a criminal is surrendered by one state to another is called _____
17. A binding agreement among states that is approved by Congress is known as an _____

Knowledge Objective: To trace and explain the growth of the national government

18. Today Congress has the power to do whatever it believes necessary to promote the _____
19. The _____ interpretation of the Constitution argued that the national government was created by the states
20. The nationalist interpretation of the Constitution argued that the national government was an agent of the _____ rather than the states
21. The concept of implied powers for the national government was first established by the Supreme Court in _____

22. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court who first set forth the doctrine of national supremacy was _____
23. The three major powers of Congress upon which national expansion is based are _____, _____, _____
24. The umpire of the Federal system that has favored the national government is the _____
25. The debate over federalism today tends to emphasize (constitutional/policy) issues

POSTTEST

1. Only one of the following Americans has been an advocate of national supremacy
 - a. Thomas Jefferson
 - b. John C. Calhoun
 - c. Ronald Reagan
 - d. Franklin Roosevelt
2. The "states righters" basic premise is that the Constitution is a
 - a. statement of principles
 - b. union of people
 - c. treaty among sovereign states
 - d. document inspired by God
3. The basic nationalist premise is that the Constitution is a supreme law established by the
 - a. people
 - b. state
 - c. Creator
 - d. Continental Congress
4. One of the following countries does not have a federal government
 - a. Switzerland
 - b. Mexico
 - c. France
 - d. United States
5. Only one of the following arguments for American federalism has real validity today
 - a. popular loyalty to state governments
 - b. inadequate communication and transportation
 - c. the needs of a heterogeneous people
 - d. a relative lack of national feeling

6. Federalism can be defended in all but one of the following ways
 - a. Political experimentation is encouraged
 - b. Governed and governors are in closer contact
 - c. Allowances are made for differences
 - d. A national majority can more easily implement its program
7. The supreme law of the land is composed of all but one of the following
 - a. the Supreme Court
 - b. the U. S. Constitution
 - c. U. S. law
 - d. U. S. treaties
8. The nationalist interpretation of the Constitution finally triumphed at
 - a. Bunker Hill
 - b. Appomattox
 - c. San Juan Hill
 - d. Valley Forge
9. John Marshall's decision in McCulloch v. Maryland was that
 - a. the government did not have authority to operate a bank
 - b. state tax powers are unlimited within their boundaries
 - c. Scottish naturalized immigrants can sit on the Supreme Court
 - d. the national government has the authority to carry out its powers in a variety of ways
10. In interstate relations each state must accept without question one of the following
 - a. demand for extradition
 - b. enforcement of civil judgment
 - c. a Nevada divorce
 - d. immediate voting rights for the other state's citizens

KEY CONCEPTS

<u>Differentiate:</u>	Confederation; unitary government, federal government
<u>List:</u>	Three major reasons that led the Founding Fathers to adopt a federal system
<u>Explain:</u>	The political advantages of federalism
<u>Identify:</u>	One example of each of the following powers: expressed, implied, inherent, reserved, concurrent
<u>Define:</u>	Horizontal federalism (with examples)

- Trace: The triumph of the nationalist interpretation of the Constitution
- Discuss:
- a. The realities of federalism today
 - b. The necessity that the Supreme Court review state laws
 - c. The belief that state governments are closer to the people
- Analyze: Recent polls indicate that Americans now believe that they get most of their money from local governments. Why has this change come about?

ANSWERS

Pretest

1. a
2. d
3. a
4. d
5. c
6. b
7. a
8. b
9. a
10. c

Programmed Review

1. federal
2. individuals
3. unitary
4. unitary
5. unity
6. state
7. national
8. local
9. express; implied
10. inherent
11. concurrent
12. has not
13. republican
14. full faith and credit
15. durational residency
16. extradition
17. interstate compact
18. general welfare
19. states rights
20. people
21. McCulloch v. Maryland
22. John Marshall

23. war, commerce, tax
24. Supreme Court
25. political

Posttest

1. d
2. c
3. a
4. c
5. c
6. d
7. a
8. b
9. d
10. b

Chapter 4

American federalism:

Federalism is more than a remote constitutional theory. It is also a day-by-day political issue involving money, influence, power, people. The various levels of government intermesh to provide a total government for Americans. In recent years the big debate has been over the disbursement of national funds to states and communities -- who gets what, when, where, how. In this chapter we will look at some of the ways in which these funds are now distributed

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. THE POLITICS OF FEDERALISM

- A. A political argument with an economic base: competing interest groups -- "Sun Belt" v. Northeast
- B. The politics of national growth; agriculture to industry, rural to urban

II. FEDERAL GRANT PROGRAMS

- A. Categorical
- B. Project
- C. Block
- D. Revenue - sharing

III. EVALUATING GRANT PROGRAMS

IV. FEDERALISM AND THE URBAN CRISIS

- A. Alliances between cities and national government
- B. Future of state governments dependent on response to urban problems.

PRETEST

1. In our history northerners, southerners, business people, and workers have
 - a. consistently agreed on the role of the state governments
 - b. held to a single opinion with respect to national powers
 - c. changed sides in the debate over national-state powers
 - d. shown no discernible pattern of opinion at all
2. Any group that "has the votes" in Washington is almost certain to favor
 - a. a strong national government
 - b. states rights
 - c. a Supreme Court critical of congressional power
 - d. local government as being closer to the people
3. In the past thirty years, one of the following groups has not generally opposed the national government's power
 - a. labor unions
 - b. segregationists
 - c. business
 - d. Republicans
4. The United Automobile Workers, General Motors, and American Telephone and Telegraph Company have this in common
 - a. They all favor the same national policies.
 - b. Their size prevents successful control by state governments
 - c. They all favor a strong government.
 - d. They have internal democratic government
5. The great expansion of our grant-in-aid system occurred during
 - a. the New Deal
 - b. the 1960's
 - c. World War I
 - d. World War II
6. Current project grant programs are given out on the basis of
 - a. total state population
 - b. individual applications
 - c. a percentage of minority citizens
 - d. a percentage of state contribution to federal revenues

7. Most of the recent grants-in-aid are directed toward the problems of
 - a. rural America
 - b. state governments
 - c. urban centers
 - d. higher education
8. A federal grant that gives a state the right to spend money within a broad category is called a
 - a. project grant
 - b. block grant
 - c. community action grant
 - d. grant-in-aid
9. Revenue-sharing gives
 - a. city taxes to the states
 - b. national taxes to local governments
 - c. state taxes to the cities
 - d. local taxes to the states
10. The reapportionment of the state legislatures to reflect population changes has apparently resulted in
 - a. increased power for central cities
 - b. an alliance of all representatives from metropolitan areas
 - c. a rural-suburban alliance
 - d. rural districts as the balance of power

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To outline the basic political issues around which federalism revolves

1. Federalism refers to the division of power between the _____ and _____ governments
2. American interest groups favor either the state or national government largely on the basis of favorable _____
3. Most business groups prefer to work with the _____ government: most labor groups prefer the _____ government
4. _____ ideology normally favors state-local government
5. The national government's land and water management programs in the Rocky Mountain West have produced strong feelings of _____ (support/opposition)
6. In recent years the section of the United States that has enjoyed budgetary surpluses is the _____

Knowledge Objectives: To examine factors that have contributed to the expansion of the national government

7. The expansion of the national government can be explained in large part by our evolution from an _____ society to an _____ society
8. Our urban society has created a demand for citizen-oriented programs operated by the _____ government
9. Today many _____ are larger than state governments

Knowledge Objectives: To differentiate among the various types of federal grant programs

10. _____ grants involve matching federal-state funds for a specific program
11. Local communities can receive federal funds directly outside any formula distribution under _____ grants
12. Federal funds distributed according to formula for a broad purpose are called _____ grants
13. Federal funding to local governments with only a few general restrictions is called _____
14. Professional administrative specialists tend to (favor, not favor) general revenue-sharing
15. The largest deficits today are being run by (state/national) government
16. Recent amendments to revenue sharing laws have eliminated the share for _____ government

Knowledge Objective: To consider the relationship of federalism to the urban crisis

17. Recent federal grant policy has created a financial bond between the national government and _____
18. Most recent expansion of aid for urban governments has come from _____ governments
19. Most big city mayors today seek to solve their problems by appealing to _____ government
20. The influence of cities _____ (has/has not) been increased by the reapportionment of state legislatures

21. The _____ government is in the best position to reorganize metropolitan area government

POSTTEST

1. The average citizen of the United States today
 - a. follows closely the activities of the state legislature
 - b. regards the citizens of other states as foreigners
 - c. is in close contact with local and state officials
 - d. is best informed about the national political scene
2. The best word to describe the interaction of national and state governments is
 - a. collision
 - b. friction
 - c. mesh
 - d. harmony
3. Throughout our history, business had advocated
 - a. states rights
 - b. national supremacy
 - c. neither
 - d. both
4. The section of the United States that receives more federal aid than it contributes in taxes is the
 - a. Sun Belt
 - b. Northeast
 - c. Midwest
 - d. Far West
5. Which of the following is not at issue in the revenue-sharing debate
 - a. public policy
 - b. power bases
 - c. efficiency
 - d. armament control
6. The most financially thriving level of government today is the
 - a. city
 - b. state
 - c. country
 - d. national
7. Reapportionment of state legislatures has not increased the voice of
 - a. rural areas
 - b. suburbs
 - c. small towns
 - d. big cities
8. One of the major political problems of present metropolitan areas is

- a. their fragmentation into dozens of units
 - b. their declining population
 - c. the shared hostility between governments and Washington
 - d. the domination of whole metropolitan areas by strong mayors
9. The present mood of the country with respect to federalism is best described as
- a. anti-Washington
 - b. pro city hall
 - c. less revenue-sharing
 - d. state renaissance
10. The compromise program between category grants and revenue-sharing is
- a. block grants
 - b. project grants
 - c. formula grants
 - d. tax incentive grants

KEY CONCEPTS

- Explain: The basic issue involved in the debate over federalism
- Describe: The current conflict between the Sun Belt and the Frost Belt
- Trace: The forces that led to an expansion of national power
- Differentiate: Among the major federal grant programs
- Evaluate: Revenue-sharing (who wins, who loses)
- Explain: Why block grants represent a compromise position
- Discuss:
- a. "Revenue sharing hurts blacks and other disadvantaged groups."
 - b. "Before too long the only people interested in state boundaries will be Rand-McNally."
 - c. "The expansion of direct federal aid has given local governments unmistakable status as a third component of the system."
 - d. "The good sense and practical judgment of Americans (helps them) evade numberless difficulties resulting from the Federal Constitution."
- Analyze: What are the five largest federal programs for state/local aid?
- Identify: Five major intergovernmental events that have reshaped federalism since 1960.

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. c
2. a
3. a
4. b
5. b
6. b
7. c
8. b
9. b
10. c

Programmed Review:

1. national: state
2. access
3. state: national
4. conservative
5. opposition
6. Sun Belt
7. agricultural: industrial
8. national
9. corporations
10. categorical formula
11. project
12. block
13. revenue sharing
14. not favor
15. national
16. state
17. cities
18. states
19. national
20. has not
21. state

Posttest:

1. d
2. c
3. d
4. a
5. d
6. b
7. d
8. a
9. a
10. a

Chapter 5

First amendment freedoms

Almost everyone is in favor of freedom, but it is in the reality of social and political controversy that our basic principles are tested. In recent years the following issues, among many others, have been topics for disagreement and debate: church v. state; protected v. unprotected speech; freedom of expression v. executive privilege, obscenity v. community standards. In addition, numerous court cases have arisen over the right of people to assemble peaceably and to petition the government. Finally, there is the continual and perhaps inevitable problem of separating subversive and seditious from legitimate protest and free expression. This chapter examines each of these areas of controversy over freedom.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. INTRODUCTION

- A. The fundamental supports of a free society: freedom of speech, press, assemblage, and petition
- B. The Bill of Rights: the first ten amendments applied to the national but not state governments.
- C. Civil liberties nationalized in expanding the "due process" clause of 14th amendment
 1. Gitlow v. New York (1925): freedom of speech and the press protected
 2. Between 1940 and 1960, other provisions of the Bill of Rights were extended

II. A WALL OF SEPARATION: ESTABLISHMENT CLAUSE ISSUES

- A. Freedom of Religion
- B. Violations of the Establishment Clause
- C. Applications of the Establishment Clause
 - 1. devotional exercises
 - 2. teaching of evolution
 - 3. Bible study
 - 4. Sunday closing laws
 - 5. Tax exemption of church property
 - 6. Aid to parochial schools
 - 7. Freedom of worship

III. FREE SPEECH AND FREE PEOPLE

- A. Permissible versus unconstitutional restraint on freedom of expression
- B. The need to distinguish among belief, speech, and action
- C. Distinguishing between protected and unprotected speech
 - 1. The bad-tendency doctrine
 - 2. The clear and present danger test
 - 3. The preferred position or absolutist doctrine
- D. Prior restraint; vagueness; overbreadth; least means

IV. FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

- A. Right of access
- B. Freedom of information; Sunshine laws
- C. Police searches
- D. Press coverage versus fair trials
- E. Student press rights
- F. Other means of communication: motion pictures; television; cable TV; radio; handbills; picketing; symbolic speech
- G. Libel; obscenity; fighting words

V. RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE PEACEABLY TO ASSEMBLE, AND TO PETITION THE GOVERNMENT

- A. Freedom of association
- B. Subversive conduct and seditious speech
 - 1. Traitors, spies, saboteurs, revolutionaries
 - 2. Seditious speech: the Sedition Act; the Smith Act

PRETEST

- 1. Specifically, the Bill of Rights was aimed at
 - a. the national government
 - b. the state governments
 - c. both national and state government
 - d. providing unlimited freedom to the people

2. The due process clause, interpreted to mean that the states could not abridge the First Amendment freedoms, is part of the
 - a. Fifteenth Amendment
 - b. Fourteenth Amendment
 - c. Eighteenth Amendment
 - d. Thirteenth Amendment
3. Because of the establishment clause, states may not
 - a. teach the Darwinian theory of evolution
 - b. study the Bible or religion in public schools
 - c. permit religious instructors to teach in public schools during the day
 - d. establish Blue Laws
4. The Supreme Court has held that tax funds may not be used to
 - a. furnish secular textbooks in parochial schools
 - b. furnish guidance and remedial help in parochial schools
 - c. pay fares to send children to church-operated schools
 - d. pay parochial teachers' salaries
5. The doctrine that free speech can not be restricted unless there is a close connection between a speech and illegal action is called
 - a. the clear and present danger test
 - b. the speech and dangerous result test
 - c. the speech and action test
 - d. absolutist doctrine
6. Of all forms of government interference with expression, judges are most suspicious of those that
 - a. trespass on First Amendment Freedoms
 - b. limit freedom of speech of any kind
 - c. impose prior restraints on publication
 - d. impose a posteriori restraints
7. The current standards for obscenity are made
 - a. by the Supreme Court
 - b. at the state level
 - c. at the community level
 - d. by Congress
8. Persons may be convicted for one of the following
 - a. possessing obscene materials
 - b. selling obscene literature
 - c. importing obscene literature from abroad
 - d. writing obscene material

9. Street marches by protest groups are protected by the First Amendment right to
- a. assemble
 - b. petition
 - c. demonstrate
 - d. boycott
10. The formula which imposes on licensees the obligation to see that issues of public significance are covered adequately on radio and television is called
- a. equality doctrine
 - b. fairness doctrine
 - c. coverage doctrine
 - d. broadcasting code

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To examine the constitutional safeguards

1. The first ten amendments to the Constitution are known as _____
2. The Bill of Rights originally limited only the _____ government
3. The _____ clause of the Fourteenth Amendment protects freedom of the press and of speech from impairment by the states

Knowledge Objective: To inquire into the meaning of the wall of separation

4. The _____ clause is designed to prevent three main evils: sponsorship, financial support, and active involvement of the sovereign in religious activity
5. Because of the Establishment Clause, states may not prohibit the teaching of Darwin's theory of _____
6. The Supreme Court has ruled that _____ funds (may, may not) be used for salaries of teachers and instructional materials
7. At the _____ level, the Supreme Court (has, has not) sustained grants of public funds to build buildings and to provide annual subsidies

Knowledge Objective: To analyze the idea of free speech and free people

8. The Supreme Court _____ (upheld/rejected) efforts of the government to prevent publication of the Pentagon Papers

9. In understanding the constitutional power of government to regulate speech, we should distinguish among three forms of it: beliefs, speech, and _____
10. The _____ doctrine stems from common law. It authorizes legislatures to outlaw speech that could provoke illegal action
11. The _____ test was announced by Justice Holmes in Schenck v. United States
12. The _____ doctrine takes the view that freedom of expression must never be curtailed
13. Of all forms of governmental interference with expression, judges are most suspicious of those that impose _____ restraint on publication

Knowledge Objective: To investigate the problem of freedom of the press

14. In a recent decision the Supreme Court _____ (did/did not) support the barring of the press from a criminal case
15. The right of a citizen to reply when criticized by a newspaper _____ (has/has not) been sustained by the Supreme Court
16. The Supreme Court has ruled that a publicly supported university _____ (may/may not) expel a student for distributing what authorities considered to be an indecent newspaper
17. Newspaper files and reporter notes _____ (are/are not) legitimately subject to police searches with a warrant
18. During the Cold War years, public officials began to _____ more and more information as confidential, secret, or top secret
19. The _____ acts make most records of federal agencies public
20. Many states have passed so-called _____ laws requiring most public agencies to open their meetings to the public and the press
21. Television _____ (has/has not) the same First Amendment rights as newspapers
22. In the famous case of the United States v. Nixon, the Supreme Court ruled that a president does not have an absolute _____ to withhold information

23. The mere fact that a statement is wrong or even defamatory is not sufficient to sustain a charge of _____
24. Under the current test the _____ determines whether or not a work appeals to prurient interests or is patently offensive
25. Obscenity _____ (is/is not) entitled to constitutional protection
26. Dirty books and X Rated movies are entitled to _____ (less/the same) protections as political speech
27. The First Amendment _____ (does/does not) prevent the FCC from refusing to renew a radio license if in its opinion a broadcaster has not served the public interest
28. The _____ doctrine imposes on licensees of air-waves the obligation to see that issues of public significance are covered adequately and reflect differing viewpoints

Knowledge Objective: To examine the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government

29. The right to assemble peaceably applies not only to meetings in private homes, but to gatherings held in _____
30. The right to assemble and to petition does not include the right to _____ on private property
31. The rights of Iranian students in the United States and American Nazis to march on the streets _____ (has/has not) been upheld by the courts
32. _____ consists only of the overt acts of giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States or levying war against it
33. In the late eighteenth century the _____ Act made it a crime to utter false, scandalous, or malicious statements intended to bring the government or any of its officers into disrepute
34. The first peacetime sedition law since 1798 was the _____ Act of 1940
35. In the case Dennis v. United States, the Court decided that the Smith Act _____ (could/could not) be applied to leaders of the Communist Party who had been charged with conspiring to advocate the violent overthrow of the government

POSTTEST

1. Concerning free speech, Justice Holmes wrote that the best test of truth is
 - a. the power of the thought to endure over time
 - b. the power of the thought to be accepted by the majority
 - c. the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market
 - d. the wisdom of the forefathers
2. The bad tendency doctrine gives to _____ the power to decide what kinds of speech can be outlawed
 - a. courts
 - b. legislatures
 - c. the people
 - d. local communities
3. According to Chief Justice Warren Burger press responsibility
 - a. should be mandated by Congress
 - b. cannot be legislated
 - c. should be regulated by the states
 - d. requires a right of reply by all newspapers
4. The Freedom of Information Act of 1966 concerns
 - a. censorship
 - b. press responsibility and fairness
 - c. abuses in the over-classification of documents
 - d. the right to privacy
5. Legislation that would protect the confidential information of journalists from police and court investigations is called a _____ law.
 - a. sunshine
 - b. umbrella
 - c. shield
 - d. covert
6. In Miller v. California (1973), Chief Justice Burger defined obscenity as
 - a. a work taken as a whole that lacks serious artistic, political, or scientific value
 - b. a work that does not apply traditional standards of morality
 - c. a work that is utterly without redeeming social value
 - d. a work that graphically describes sex relations
7. The distribution of religious and political pamphlets, leaflets, and handbills to the public is

- a. constitutionally protected
 - b. under almost all circumstances locally prosecuted
 - c. constitutionally ignored
 - d. prohibited without a license
8. Of the following, which has the greatest restrictions placed upon it by the Constitution
- a. speech
 - b. assembly
 - c. picketing
 - d. petitions
9. Persons may be constitutionally restrained from assembling in
- a. any area designed to serve purposes other than demonstrations
 - b. courthouses
 - c. schools
 - d. privately owned shopping malls
10. The Supreme Court decided that newspapers might publish a government study of our Vietnam involvement called the
- a. Five O'Clock Follies
 - b. Pentagon Papers
 - c. Fire on the Lake
 - d. Red and Yellow; Black and White

KEY CONCEPTS

- Justify: The concept that ordinary citizens need a right-of-access to newspapers
- Define: The issues involved and the end result of the Progressive case
- Explain: The justification for a reporter's shield law
- Explain: How the Supreme Court brought state governments into compliance with the national Bill of Rights
- Describe: The three-part test created by the Supreme Court to determine if a statute violates the Establishment Clause (indicate what the Establishment Clause does and does not forbid)
- Illustrate: How the Free Exercise clause and the Establishment Clause may conflict
- Define: The Holmes-Brandeis clear and present danger formula (indicate what this formula requires in order to prosecute an offender)
- Explain: What the Pentagon papers incident entailed

<u>List:</u>	The standards of obscenity as defined by the Miller decision
<u>Indicate:</u>	What the Fairness Doctrine requires
<u>Explain:</u>	The Smith Act

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. a
2. b
3. c
4. d
5. a
6. c
7. c
8. c
9. a
10. b

Programmed Review:

1. Bill of Rights
2. national
3. due process
4. Establishment
5. evolution
6. may not
7. has
8. rejected
9. action
10. bad tendency
11. clear and present danger
12. absolutist
13. prior
14. did not
15. has not
16. may not
17. are
18. classify
19. freedom of Information
20. sunshine
21. has not
22. executive privilege
23. libel
24. jury
25. is not
26. less
27. does not
28. Fairness

- 29. public streets
- 30. trespass
- 31. has
- 32. treason
- 33. Sedition
- 34. Smith
- 35. could

Posttest:

- 1. c
- 2. b
- 3. b
- 4. c
- 5. c
- 6. a
- 7. a
- 8. c
- 9. d
- 10. b

Chapter 6

Equal rights under the law

In a sense the Civil Rights movement began with the abolitionists prior to the Civil War. After the war the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments which abolished slavery and established citizenship and voting rights were written into the Constitution. The "new" Civil Rights movement did not really begin until 1954 when the Supreme Court ruled that the separate-but-equal formula was unconstitutional. The 1960's saw additional and more improved civil rights legislation. In a continuation of its growth, civil rights legislation has been expanded and implemented by all branches of the government.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. TO SECURE EQUAL RIGHTS --- AN OVERVIEW
 - A. Women's Liberation
 - B. The struggle for racial justice
 - 1. The national government begins to respond
 - 2. 1963: The Turning Point
 - 3. Black Militancy, Black Awareness, and Black Power
 - 4. Two Societies?
 - C. Hispanics
 - D. Native Americans
 - E. The Ethnics
- II. EQUAL PROTECTION UNDER THE LAWS --- WHAT DOES IT MEAN?
 - A. The rational basis test
 - B. Suspect classifications: race; national origin
 - C. Almost suspect classifications: sex and illegitimacy

- D. Is poverty a suspect classification?
- E. Fundamental rights
- F. How to prove discrimination
- G. The life and death of Jim Crow
 - 1. Is segregation discrimination? Plessy v. Ferguson
 - 2. The end of separate but equal: Brown v. Board of Education
 - 3. Busing and the federal courts
 - 4. Where do we stand?

III. BARRIER TO VOTING

- A. Circumventing the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments 'legally'
- B. The National Government Acts
 - 1. The Voting Rights Act of 1965
- C. Woman's Suffrage

IV. BARRIERS TO PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS, JOBS, HOMES

- A. National powers to protect Civil Rights
- B. The Civil Rights Act of 1964
 - 1. Title II --- public accommodation
 - 2. Title VII --- employment
- C. The Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1968: Housing

V. AGE DISCRIMINATION

PRETEST

1. The woman's movement of the 1960's and 70's was dramatized in a book of protest, The Feminine Mystique, written by

a. Gloria Steinem	c. Betty Friedan
b. Bella Abzug	d. Shirley Chisholm
2. Identify the unrelated word

a. Ms. Magazine	c. NOW
b. ERA	d. Playmate
3. The civil rights gains of the 1960's chiefly benefitted

a. young black males	c. the black middle class
b. black welfare mothers	d. poverty stricken blacks
4. Major origins of Hispanics in the United States do not include

a. Spain	c. Puerto Rico
b. Cuba	d. Mexico

5. A state legislature may classify people only if the classification meets a _____ test
 - a. suspect
 - b. almost suspect
 - c. fundamental rights
 - d. rational basis
6. In a famous dissenting opinion (Plessy v. Ferguson) Justice Harlan wrote
 - a. most blacks are mentally inferior
 - b. the black family must be restructured
 - c. Our Constitution is color-blind
 - d. busing promotes tolerance
7. One of the following is unconstitutional as an age classification
 - a. driver licenses may not be issued to those under 16
 - b. a company's employees must retire at age 70
 - c. a state policeman is retired at age 55
 - d. an applicant for a teaching position (age 57) is rejected on the basis of age
8. Slavery was abolished and black equal rights were granted by the _____ Amendments
 - a. Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth
 - b. Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth
 - c. Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth
 - d. Twelfth and Sixteenth
9. In the 1930's blacks resorted to which of these strategies to secure their rights
 - a. violence
 - b. political power
 - c. litigation
 - d. persuasion
10. The civil rights movement produced its first charismatic leader during the Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott of 1955
 - a. James Baldwin
 - b. Dick Gregory
 - c. Martin Luther King
 - d. Jesse Jackson

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To examine the role of government in civil rights

1. The modern woman's rights movement began during the decade of the _____

2. The focus of the modern woman's rights movement has been to secure adoption of the _____ Amendment
3. Although the Nineteenth Amendment gave women the right to vote, it did not end discrimination in _____
4. The fastest growing minority in the United States is _____
5. A top priority of Hispanics is _____ education
6. The three largest subgroups of Hispanics in the United States are _____, _____ and _____
7. Indian tribes are _____ of the nation, subject to supervision by _____
8. After the Civil War, three "civil rights" amendments were added to the constitution, the _____, _____ and _____ amendments
9. The first branch of the national government to become sensitized to the aspirations of black Americans was the _____
10. In the 1930's blacks resorted to _____ to secure their rights
11. In the 1960's the use of litigation by blacks was supplemented by a widespread _____, _____ and _____ movement
12. The immediate origin of the black revolt occurred in 1955 when a _____ boycott was organized in Montgomery, Alabama
13. The Kerner Commission concluded that the nation was moving toward two societies, one black, one white, and _____ and _____

Knowledge Objective: To examine equal protection under the laws

14. The equal protection of the laws clause is part of the _____ Amendment and is implied in the due process clause of the _____ Amendment
15. The Constitution forbids only _____ classification
16. The traditional test of whether a law complies with the equal protection requirement is the _____ basis test
17. Race and national origins are obviously _____ classifications
18. The almost-suspect classifications include _____ and _____
19. In the Bakke case the Supreme Court held that a special admissions category from which whites were excluded was _____ (constitutional/unconstitutional)

20. If Congress specifically authorizes a program to overcome discrimination, classification of people by race is _____ (constitutional/unconstitutional)
21. Justice Brennan, speaking for the Supreme Court, declared that much past legislation placed women in a _____, rather than on a _____
22. Laws that create a special category for women are constitutional if _____ (government/individuals) can demonstrate that they further an important objective
23. Poverty, according to the Supreme Court _____ (is/is not) an unconstitutional classification

Knowledge Objective: To examine the life and death of Jim Crow

24. In the 1954 case of _____ the Supreme Court reversed its 1896 decision in Plessy v. Ferguson
25. Segregation required by law is called _____ segregation
26. When segregation occurs without sanction of law, it is called _____ segregation
27. Busing across school district lines _____ (is/is not) required if the school district lines have been drawn to maintain segregation

Knowledge Objective: To review the color bar and other bars at the polls

28. Most suffrage requirements, inside the U.S. constitutional framework, are fixed by the _____
29. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 has been _____ (effective/ineffective)
30. The poll tax was abolished in federal elections by the _____ Amendment
31. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 as amended set aside _____ tests throughout the country.

Knowledge Objective: To examine racial and sexual barriers to public accommodations, jobs, and homes

32. Private clubs restricted to Italians are _____ (constitutional/unconstitutional)
33. The Fourteenth Amendment applies only to _____ action and not to private groups, serving only their own members.

34. Segregation in places of _____ accommodation is unconstitutional
35. A training program that gives preference to minorities or women _____ (is/is not) constitutional
36. Persons who believe that they have been discriminated against may bring a _____ action on behalf of all of the people who have experienced similar discrimination
37. Attempts through legislation to end housing discrimination _____ (have/have not) been a great success
38. Age _____ (can/can not) be used as a criterion in employment if it is related to proper job performance

POSTTEST

1. Upon passage of the Nineteenth Amendment women
 - a. received equal pay
 - b. received equal rights
 - c. put an end to legal discrimination
 - d. got the right to vote
2. Identify the unrelated word
 - a. freedom rides
 - b. sit ins
 - c. bus boycott
 - d. violence
3. The Kerner Report declared that
 - a. violence is as American as apple pie
 - b. our nation is moving toward two societies, separate and unequal
 - c. affirmative action is un-American
 - d. black children should have neighborhood schools
4. The fastest growing minority in the United States is
 - a. Indians
 - b. Vietnamese
 - c. Hispanics
 - d. Blacks
5. A reasonable government classification would be based on
 - a. age
 - b. religion
 - c. sex
 - d. race

6. Since 1960 the national government's role in the issue of equal rights has been
 - a. to support discrimination
 - b. to remain neutral
 - c. to take affirmative action
 - d. to defer to the states
7. One of the following situations is outside government jurisdiction
 - a. a restaurant bars men without jacket and tie
 - b. a hotel refuses to register a rock-and-roll star
 - c. a realtor refuses to sell property to an extended Vietnamese family
 - d. a theater refuses to seat a group with long hair and blue jeans
8. One of the following is a fundamental right:
 - a. travel
 - b. housing
 - c. welfare
 - d. education
9. Which of these cases marked the end of the separate but equal interpretation of the Constitution
 - a. Plessy v. Ferguson
 - b. Weber v. Kaiser
 - c. Bakke v. California Regents
 - d. Brown v. Board of Education
10. Which method used to prevent blacks from voting was outlawed by the Voting Rights Bill of 1965
 - a. literacy tests
 - b. threats of violence
 - c. poll taxes
 - d. white primary

KEY CONCEPTS

- Trace: The high points of the women's liberation movement from the Civil War to ERA
- Outline: The high points of the black struggle for equality from Reconstruction to the present day
- Discuss: The Kerner Commission conclusion: "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white --- separate and unequal"
- Analyze: The demands of Hispanics, Indians and ethnic groups and their strategies to obtain equal rights
- Describe: Suspect and almost suspect classifications, showing how these may have been used by the courts.

<u>Indicate:</u>	Why busing to achieve integration has become such a confused issue
<u>Examine:</u>	The effectiveness of the Voting Rights Act of 1965
<u>Explain:</u>	Why government appears to have been more successful in ending discrimination in public accommodations than in housing
<u>List:</u>	The areas of sex discrimination that have been outlawed
<u>Indicate:</u>	The actions taken by government to halt age discrimination

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. c
2. d
3. c
4. a
5. d
6. c
7. d
8. b
9. c
10. c

Programmed Review:

1. 1960's
2. Equal Rights
3. employment
4. Hispanic
5. bilingual
6. Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans
7. wards; Congress
8. 13th; 14th; 5th
9. presidency
10. litigation
11. social; economic; political
12. bus
13. separate; unequal
14. 14th; 15th
15. unreasonable
16. rational
17. suspect
18. sex; illegitimacy

19. unconstitutional
20. constitutional
21. cage; pedestal
22. government
23. is not
24. Brown v. Board of Education
25. de jure
26. de facto
27. is
28. states
29. effective
30. poll
31. literacy
32. constitutional
33. government
34. public
35. is
36. class
37. have not
38. can

Posttest:

1. d
2. d
3. b
4. c
5. a
6. c
7. a
8. a
9. d
10. a

Chapter 7

Rights to life, liberty, and property

As we see in this chapter, one of the hallmarks of the Anglo-American justice systems is the guarantee that a person is innocent until proven guilty. Persons accused of crime have a great many protected rights: the right to counsel; the right to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusations; the right to a speedy and public trial; the right to be confronted with hostile witnesses; protection against excessive fines; and protection against cruel and unusual punishment.

Also, their property is protected against arbitrary government seizure and government furnishes protection for property of the weak against the strong.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. THE CONSTITUTION PROTECTS CITIZENSHIP
 - A. Basic rights protected under the Fourteenth Amendment (1868)
 - B. Citizenship: jus soli (place of birth) or jus sanguinis (by blood)
 - C. Loss of citizenship
 - 1. Naturalized citizenship requirements
 - D. Rights of American citizenship
 - 1. State citizenship: residence v. legal domicile
 - 2. National citizenship v. state citizenship
 - 3. Right to travel abroad

- E. Rights of aliens
 - 1. First restrictions excluding certain undesirables (1875)
 - 2. Limits on numbers and quota system (1924)
 - 3. Current policy (quotas abolished) 1965, 1976 laws
 - 4. Recent immigrant waves: Cubans, Mexicans, Vietnamese
- II. CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION OF PROPERTY
 - A. Property rights v. individual rights
 - B. Contract clause: states' powers to protect welfare restricted until 1880's
 - C. 1934: contracts between individuals modified by state law
 - D. Contract clause not completely dead
 - E. Due process of law: procedural and substantive
 - F. Eminent domain
- III. FREEDOM FROM ARBITRARY ARREST, QUESTIONING, AND IMPRISONMENT
 - A. Unreasonable search and seizure: definitions
 - 1. Exclusionary rule
 - 2. Third degree and the right to remain silent
 - 3. Right of privacy
 - 4. Writ of habeas corpus; ex post facto clause, bill of attainder
 - B. Rights of persons accused of crimes
 - 1. Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Amendments
 - 2. Specific rights guaranteed: grand jury; counsel; speedy trial; impartial jury; right to have favorable witnesses and to confront adverse witnesses; prohibition against excessive bail
 - 3. Protection against double jeopardy
- IV. NATIONALIZATION OF CIVIL RIGHTS
 - A. Nationalization of due process: applying the Fourteenth Amendment to states
 - B. Nationalization of equal protection laws
 - C. Palko test: only rights implicit in concept of ordered liberty
 - D. Doctrine of total incorporation
- V. HOW JUST IS OUR SYSTEM OF JUSTICE?
 - A. Arguments against the system
 - B. Arguments for the system
- VI. THE SUPREME COURT AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

PRETEST

1. Identify the unrelated word

- | | |
|-------------|---------------|
| a. Italians | c. Mexicans |
| b. Cubans | d. Vietnamese |

2. U.S. citizens are not required to have a passport to travel to
- a. Mexico
 - b. China
 - c. England
 - d. Israel
3. Conviction for any of the following actions have been found to violate due process of law except
- a. treating the flag contemptuously
 - b. to be on a public highway late at night without visible business
 - c. to be a "common night walker"
 - d. to carry a concealed pistol
4. Persons who are arrested by Federal officers at the scene of a crime are presumed to be
- a. guilty
 - b. innocent
 - c. accomplices
 - d. suspect
5. Federally guaranteed rights include all of the following except
- a. no double jeopardy
 - b. ex post facto laws to punish crimes
 - c. excessive fines and unusual punishments
 - d. parole and/or probation
6. The concept that private property cannot be taken for public use without just compensation is
- a. eminent domain
 - b. habeas corpus
 - c. ex post facto law
 - d. martial law
7. Protection against self-incrimination should prevent
- a. double jeopardy
 - b. bill of attainder
 - c. eminent domain
 - d. the "third degree"
8. Recent waves of "new legislation" have raised a basic question as to whether the United States is a
- a. haven for the oppressed
 - b. dumping ground for the mentally retarded
 - c. desirable place for non-English speaking people
 - d. proper destination for deposed nobility
9. Faculty of state universities under the due process clause are guaranteed the right to
- a. tenure
 - b. hearings before dismissal
 - c. promotion
 - d. write uncensored books

10. Substantive due process today is primarily concerned with

- | | |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| a. property rights | c. civil liberties |
| b. social policy | d. economic regulation |

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To analyze how the Constitution protects citizenship

1. Citizenship was given constitutional protection in 1868 with the adoption of the _____ Amendment
2. The principle of _____ confers citizenship by place of birth
3. The principle of _____ confers citizenship by blood
4. Under certain conditions citizenship may be revoked by a _____
5. Residence is primarily a question of _____ (intent/physical presence)
6. Privileges of state and national citizenship are _____ (the same/different)
7. Under existing practice an American citizen needs a _____ to enter or leave the United States
8. Current immigration laws permit admission of 270,000 persons each year, with no more than 20,000 from _____
9. Current immigration law permits the admission of 70,000 refugees each year _____ (inside/beyond) the regular total
10. Millions of illegal aliens have entered the United States from _____

Knowledge Objective: To examine constitutional protections of property

11. The Supreme Court _____ (has/has not) held that even contracts between individuals could be modified by state law to prevent disasters
12. The due process of law clause is contained in both the _____ and _____ Amendments
13. There are two kinds of due process, _____ and _____

14. Procedural due process _____ (does/does not) apply to many methods of law enforcement
15. In recent years, the Supreme Court _____ (has/has not) set aside the distinction between a "privilege" and "right"
16. The Supreme Court _____ (has/has not) ruled that state employees are not entitled to due process hearings before being fired
17. A juvenile accused of delinquency must be guaranteed a hearing but is not entitled to having the decision made by a _____
18. School pupils may be punished after a _____, but for long-term expulsion, the procedures must be more formal
19. _____ due process places limits on how governmental power may be exercised
20. _____ due process places limits on why governmental power may be exercised
21. Substantive due process deals with the _____ of the law
22. Since 1937, substantive due process has been revitalized as a limitation on governmental power in the field of _____

Knowledge Objective: To inquire into arbitrary arrest, questioning, and imprisonment

23. When in hot pursuit, the police _____ (may/may not) follow a person into his home and arrest him, even without a warrant
24. Officers _____ (may/may not) stop and search suspects if they have reason to believe they are armed and dangerous
25. A search warrant must describe what places are to be _____ and the things that are to be _____
26. The Supreme Court has ruled that evidence obtained unconstitutionally _____ (can/can not) be used in a criminal trial
27. If defendants choose to take the stand in court proceedings, they _____ (can/cannot) claim the privilege against self-incrimination to prevent cross-examination
28. Critics of the exclusionary rule argue that the solution is to punish the _____ (police/suspect)
29. In *Miranda v. Arizona*, the Supreme Court held that a conviction _____ (could/could not) stand if evidence introduced at the trial was a result of "custodial interrogation"

30. A retroactive criminal law that works to the disadvantage of an individual is called an _____ law
31. A legislative act inflicting punishment without judicial trial is called a _____

Knowledge Objective: To examine the nationalization of civil rights

32. Double jeopardy prevents two criminal trials by the _____ government for the same _____ offense
33. The doctrine of "total incorporation" would make the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment a duplicate of the _____
34. The _____ test is a selective incorporation of fundamental rights within the Fourteenth Amendment

Knowledge Objective: To evaluate our system of justice

35. Critics who claim our justice system is unreliable often point to trial by _____ as the chief source of trouble
36. Critics charge that the grand jury has become a tool of the _____
37. British judges _____ (do/do not) have the authority to declare legislative acts unconstitutional
38. In the United States, our emphasis on judicial protection of civil liberties focuses attention on the _____

POSTTEST

1. To become a citizen of the United States aliens have to do all of the following things except
- | | |
|---|--|
| a. renounce allegiance to their native country | c. swear that they do not believe in world communism |
| b. swear that they will bear arms for the U. S. | d. own property worth at least \$2000 |
2. Naturalized citizens are not required to demonstrate that they
- | | |
|--|---|
| a. are of good moral character | c. know the principles of U.S. government |
| b. are able to speak and write English | d. have a sponsoring family |
3. In its efforts to block the entry of illegal aliens the Naturalization Service has been:

- a. moderately successful
 - b. unsuccessful
 - c. extremely successful
 - d. uninvolved
4. Juveniles and students are entitled to a jury trial before they are
- a. declared delinquent
 - b. sent to a mental hospital
 - c. suspended from school
 - d. sentenced for shoplifting
5. Only one of the following police actions is unconstitutional
- a. enter a home without a warrant to stop a wife beating her husband
 - b. stop all pedestrians to ask for identification
 - c. search an automobile without a warrant
 - d. frisk dangerous persons for weapons
6. Only one of the following bugging situations is constitutional
- a. foreign agents with presidential approval
 - b. Mafia members by the FBI without a warrant
 - c. counterfeiters by the Secret Service with Attorney General's approval
 - d. business rival by his competitor
7. The "exclusionary rule" provides that certain evidence cannot be used to convict a person in a criminal trial
- a. employees against employers
 - b. children against parents
 - c. illegal police searches
 - d. testimony given in exchange for immunity
8. As a result of the Miranda decision all persons accused of a crime have the following rights except
- a. to remain silent
 - b. have a lawyer represent them
 - c. freedom on bail
 - d. halt their interrogation at any point
9. All of the following legal procedures are constitutional except
- a. habeas corpus
 - b. subpoenas
 - c. injunctions
 - d. bills of attainder
10. The Palko test is best described as
- a. a medical test to determine drunkenness
 - b. a formula for applying the Bill of Rights to states
 - c. a criteria for determining the degree of murder
 - d. a test for naturalization

KEY CONCEPTS

<u>Define:</u>	The issues involved in coping with millions of illegal Mexican immigrants
<u>Debate:</u>	The "safe haven" versus the "protect American workers" attitude toward refugees
<u>Describe:</u>	The distinction between the Palko test and nationalization of the Bill of Rights
<u>Discuss:</u>	The conditions of aliens as contrasted to the conditions of American citizens in terms of employment, equal rights, etc.
<u>Explain:</u>	The differences between procedural and substantive due process
<u>Analyze:</u>	By illustration and example both reasonable and unreasonable search and seizure
<u>Discuss:</u>	The self-incrimination protection (indicate: the Supreme Court's extension of the self-incrimination clause; the congressional restriction of the self-incrimination clause
<u>Evaluate:</u>	Criticisms of the <u>Miranda</u> ruling
<u>Debate:</u>	The pros and cons of trial by jury

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. a
2. a
3. d
4. b
5. d
6. a
7. d
8. a
9. d
10. c

Programmed Review:

1. Fourteenth
2. jus soli
3. jus sanguinis

4. court order
5. intent
6. different
7. passport
8. one nation
9. beyond
10. Mexico
11. has
12. Fifth; Fourteenth
13. procedural; substantive
14. does
15. has
16. has not
17. jury
18. conference
19. Procedural
20. Substantive content
22. civil liberties
23. may
24. may
25. searched; seized
26. cannot
27. cannot
28. police
29. could not
30. ex post facto
31. bill of arrainder
32. same; criminal
33. Bill of Rights
34. Palko
35. jury
36. prosecutor
37. do not
38. Supreme Court

Posttest:

1. d
2. d
3. b
4. d
5. d
6. c
7. c
8. c
9. d
10. b

Chapter 8

Groups: the conflict of faction

One permanent feature of our political landscape is the division of Americans into contending factions. Much of our political history can be captured in the rise and fall of these groups, their conflicts and their compromises. Beyond their families, most Americans owe their top loyalty to an economic group, a professional group, an ideological group, and any one of hundreds of other causes that have their own group. James Madison foresaw and accepted this organization of society two centuries ago. Today interest groups seem to dominate the political scene far more than do political parties.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. FACTIONS AS A POLITICAL FORCE
 - A. Historical overview of factions
 - B. Women's rights and group politics
 - C. ERA
- II. THE MAZE OF INTEREST GROUPS
 - A. Major economic groups
 - B. Non-occupational interest groups
 - C. Public interest groups
 - D. Black power: a case study
- III. FACTIONS IN ACTION
 - A. The sources of power
 - B. Group leaders
 - C. Elections
 - D. Persuasion

- E. Litigation
- F. Direct Action
- G. The growth of PAC's
- H. Lobbying
- I. Labor's political machine
- J. Cooperative lobbying

IV. CONTROLLING FACTIONS

- A. Regulation of spending
- B. Publicity
- C. Federal Election Campaign Law (1971)
- D. Natural, uncontrollable force?

PRETEST

1. One of the following women did not play a key role in the expansion of women's rights:
 - a. Jane Eyre
 - b. Lucretia Mott
 - c. Elizabeth Cady Stanton
 - d. Emma Willard
2. The commonly accepted doctrine with respect to women's rights in colonial America was:
 - a. women had no rights before marriage
 - b. a wife is dead in law
 - c. spinsters are outside the law
 - d. better an in-law than an out-law
3. The loyalty of interest group members is often diminished by their
 - a. overlapping allegiances
 - b. inability to pay dues
 - c. limited time
 - d. religious convictions
4. Nearly all adult Americans belong to an _____ interest group
 - a. social
 - b. religious
 - c. ideological
 - d. occupational
5. Identify the unrelated interest group
 - a. Public Citizen, Inc.
 - b. Common Cause
 - c. Nader's Raiders
 - d. National Rifle Association
6. Identify the unrelated interest group
 - a. National Urban League
 - b. COPE
 - c. NAACP
 - d. CORE
7. Identify the black leader that is active today

- a. Martin Luther King
 - b. Philip Randolph
 - c. Vernon Jordan
 - d. Roy Wilkins
8. In recent years the great expansion of PAC's has been in the _____ sector
- a. labor
 - b. professional
 - c. business
 - d. farming
9. The chief influence of PAC's in election campaigns has been their
- a. contributions
 - b. advice
 - c. door bell ringing
 - d. professional aid
10. In their efforts to control factions and interest groups the United States has rejected
- a. their prohibition
 - b. publicizing their activity
 - c. regulating their activity
 - d. lobbying

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To examine factions as a force in politics

1. James Madison's famous essay on the role of factions is called _____
2. Madison believed that popular government normally resulted in instability, injustice and confusion because it encouraged the growth of _____
3. When the American constitution was written it was customary for married women to lose all of their legal rights to their _____
4. The major political goal of women prior to 1920 was their struggle to secure the right to _____
5. The proposed constitutional amendment that would give women equal rights is known as _____

Knowledge Objective: To describe the various kinds of interest groups

6. Any group whose members share attitudes and try to achieve certain aims and objectives is called an _____ group
7. Nearly every employed person belongs to an _____ interest group
8. The major farm interest group is _____; labor's largest group is _____; and the largest business group is _____

9. Common Cause is an example of a _____ group
10. The highly articulate spokesman for a conglomerate of consumer interest groups is _____
11. The most important single group working for racial integration is _____
12. The economic gap between blacks and whites _____ (widened/narrowed) during the 1970's

Knowledge Objective: To investigate the techniques of interest group politics

13. Central tests of a group's power are its _____ and _____
14. The cohesiveness of any interest group is weakened by _____ memberships
15. Civil liberties, environmental and black groups have used _____ as a weapon to achieve their goals
16. Marches, sit-ins and demonstrations are examples of _____ by interest groups
17. The newest form of interest groups that back candidates and raise money are _____
18. The great expansion of PAC's during the 1970's was among _____ interest groups
19. Contributors to PAC's normally _____ (do/do not) demand immediate payoffs if their candidate wins
20. The employee of an interest group who presents its point of view to legislators is called a _____
21. Lobbyists have the _____ needed by legislators for policy making
22. Big labor's political arm is called _____
23. Collaboration between NOW and the League of Women Voters is an example of _____ lobbying

Knowledge Objectives: To survey the proposals for controlling factions

24. _____ people are underrepresented by interest groups
25. The impact of the 1971 Federal Election Campaign Law has been to _____ (increase/decrease) the political activity of interest groups

26. Interest groups provide _____ representation

POSTTEST

1. James Madison urged the control of contending factions under the new constitution in an essay called
 - a. Failing Factions
 - b. Letters of the Federal Farmer
 - c. Downing Number Nine
 - d. Federalist Number Ten
2. A study of the women's rights movement would suggest that
 - a. "your friends will help you out"
 - b. "all things come in time"
 - c. "attach yourself to someone's coat tails"
 - d. "the Lord helps those that helps themselves"
3. The biggest problem faced by women in lobbying for ERA was the
 - a. fragmented governmental system
 - b. opposition in Congress
 - c. President Carter's stand
 - d. opposing men's groups
4. Many of the strongest "unions" in terms of their political effectiveness are _____ organizations
 - a. recreational
 - b. racial
 - c. feminine
 - d. professional
5. Those organizations that insist that they are solely devoted to the public welfare are called
 - a. ideological
 - b. professional
 - c. public interest
 - d. political
6. One of the following factors is normally not critical in determining a group's political strength
 - a. strong leadership
 - b. size of membership
 - c. unity of membership
 - d. geographical distribution
7. Ralph Nader, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the NAACP have depended heavily upon _____ to influence public policy
 - a. litigation
 - b. direct action
 - c. persuasion
 - d. campaign spending

8. The political arm of a business-labor-professional interest group is called a
 - a. LEG
 - b. GYP
 - c. CON
 - d. PAC
9. The least important factor in determining the support of candidates by business PAC's is their
 - a. voting record
 - b. incumbency
 - c. winability
 - d. party affiliation
10. Labor's political clout is concentrated in a major PAC called
 - a. CIO
 - b. COPE
 - c. NIP
 - d. POL

KEY CONCEPTS

<u>Trace:</u>	The major leaders and issues in the development of women's rights
<u>Identify:</u>	The greatest roadblocks to passage of the ERA amendment
<u>Indicate:</u>	The most influential farm, labor, business and professional interest groups
<u>Analyze:</u>	The reason that interest groups are so important in American politics
<u>Discuss:</u>	The special role played by public interest groups
<u>Describe:</u>	The evolution of black interest groups
<u>Explain:</u>	The factors that make an interest group politically potent
<u>Describe:</u>	The growth of PACs and their role in American politics
<u>Discuss:</u>	Proposals for controlling interest groups
<u>Explain:</u>	Results of the 1971 Federal Election Campaign Law

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. a

2. b
3. a
4. d
5. d
6. b
7. c
8. c
9. a
10. a

Programmed Review:

1. Federalist No. 10
2. factions
3. husband
4. vote
5. ERA
6. interest
7. occupational
8. American Farm Bureau, AFL-CIO, U.S. Chamber of Commerce
9. public interest
10. Ralph Nader
11. NAACP
12. widened
13. size; unity
14. overlapping
15. litigation
16. direction action
17. PAC's
18. business
19. do not
20. lobbyist
21. specialized knowledge
22. COPE
23. cooperative
24. low income
25. increase
26. functional

Posttest:

1. d
2. d
3. a
4. d
5. c
6. b
7. a
8. d
9. d
10. b

Chapter 9

Opinions: mass culture and mass media

Public opinion is the bedrock material upon which democratic government is built. In studying public opinion we will examine political socialization, the measurement of public opinion, the nature and influence of the mass media, and the manner in which public opinion is translated into government policy. There is a direct linkage between public opinion and policy making, with political institutions as the major conveyor belts in the linkage process.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. PUBLIC OPINION: COLORFUL AND COMPLEX
 - A. The case of Carlos
 - B. Major characteristics: stability; fluidity; intensity; latency; relevance
- II. POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION
 - A. The cultural community; means and ends
 - B. Family influence
 - C. School influence
 - D. Other influences: religion; ethnic background; peer group
- III. TAKING THE PEOPLE'S PULSE
 - A. Poll taking
 - B. The tools of polling
 - C. Difficulties of interpretation

IV. THE POWER OF THE MASS MEDIA

- A. The debate over media influence
- B. Is media influence beneficial?
- C. Media partisanship?
- D. Television news
- E. Media reform proposals

PRETEST

1. Public opinion is best thought of as
 - a. the will of the people
 - b. a diversity of opinion within a particular population
 - c. media reflection of public attitudes
 - d. voter attitudes
2. Americans tend to take the most pride in our
 - a. government institutions
 - b. artistic achievements
 - c. political leaders
 - d. economic system
3. When public opinion exists merely as a potential it is termed
 - a. apathetic
 - b. irrelevant
 - c. indecisive
 - d. latent
4. The chief ideals of Americans are
 - a. responsibility and hard work
 - b. thrift and honesty
 - c. liberty and equality
 - d. generosity and good will
5. The most influential factor in forming the attitudes of children is
 - a. intelligence
 - b. psychological and genetic traits
 - c. class and race
 - d. family and school
6. The most conservative economic attitudes are to be found in _____ homes
 - a. Catholic
 - b. Jewish
 - c. atheist
 - d. Protestant
7. A good public opinion poll does not require
 - a. qualified interviewers
 - b. carefully phrased questions
 - c. a 25% sample of the universe
 - d. a representative sample of the universe

8. An example of a universe in conducting polls would be
- a. a dozen students on the Yale campus
 - b. a Congressman's mail
 - c. voters in city X
 - d. the man on the street
9. The number of people who watch television evening news is about _____ million
- a. 1
 - b. 20
 - c. 30
 - d. 55
10. The most important force in shaping adult public opinion is
- a. race
 - b. class
 - c. occupation
 - d. mass media

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To consider the complexity of public opinion

1. The people speak with many voices. There is no one set _____
2. The characteristic of public opinion that causes it to change rapidly is called _____
3. The characteristic of public opinion that does not change is called _____
4. _____ attitudes are dormant but may be evoked into action
5. Opinions which are closely associated with the lives of the individuals are called _____

Knowledge Objective: To examine major characteristics of American political culture

6. Historically, Americans tend to identify themselves with their country through common _____ and _____
7. Recently President Carter declared that Americans were experiencing a crisis of _____
8. Most Americans _____ (do/do not) have a carefully thought-out ideology

Knowledge Objective: To examine how we learn our early political opinion

9. The _____ unit instills the basic attitudes that shape future opinions

10. The major political event of the 1970's that deeply affected the political attitudes of junior high school students was _____
11. American schools tend to have an _____ point of view
12. When a person's family background and peer group disagree they experience _____

Knowledge Objective: To examine the practice of "taking the pulse of the people"

13. An accurate poll must be based on a _____ sample of the total universe
14. Samples based on a specific factor such as financial status are called _____ sampling
15. One of the most successful types of questions asked by pollsters is in the form of the _____ choice question

Knowledge Objective: To analyze the politics of the mass media

16. Defense mechanisms such as _____ perception modify the influence of the mass media
17. Walter Lippmann called newspapers the _____ of democracy
18. Political scientists have tended to _____ (stress/play down) the mass media's influence
19. President Nixon believed that the press was _____

Knowledge Objective: To investigate the charge of a partisan press

20. Modern presidents have turned away from the press and to _____ and _____ to communicate with the public
21. In recent decades newspaper publishers tended to support _____ presidential candidates
22. Generally reporters are _____ while publishers take _____ positions
23. Critics of presidential use of television have called TV an _____
24. The most influential part of the mass media is _____
25. Members of Congress tend to be most concerned over the reporting of _____ television anchormen

POSTTEST

1. As a factor in public opinion, political culture emphasizes
 - a. means and ends
 - b. religion and origins
 - c. sex and age
 - d. region and race
2. Most Americans tend to think of themselves as
 - a. liberal
 - b. conservative
 - c. non ideological
 - d. intolerant
3. Americans do not fully practice their heritage of liberty and equality because of an absence of
 - a. money
 - b. understanding
 - c. leadership
 - d. belief
4. The major force in the early socialization of children is
 - a. TV
 - b. the family
 - c. the school
 - d. playmates
5. Pollsters get the most accurate measure of public opinion through a _____ sample
 - a. representative
 - b. random
 - c. quota
 - d. demographic
6. Candidates do not use polls to determine _____ to campaign
 - a. where
 - b. how
 - c. whether
 - d. when
7. The mass media's impact on most Americans is modified by their
 - a. regionalism
 - b. viewing habits
 - c. lack of background
 - d. selective perception
8. In most elections a majority of newspapers endorse _____ candidates
 - a. conservative
 - b. liberal
 - c. independent
 - d. no
9. Critics of media employees charge that an overwhelming majority are
 - a. conservatives
 - b. liberals
 - c. independent
 - d. apolitical

10. The most influential component of the mass media is

- a. newspapers
- b. television

- c. radio
- d. news magazines

KEY CONCEPTS

<u>Explain:</u>	Why there is no single political force that can be identified as public opinion
<u>Indicate:</u>	An example of saliency
<u>Analyze:</u>	The influence of the family, school and church in formulating public opinion
<u>Describe:</u>	The importance of polling in the political process
<u>Analyze:</u>	The alleged "confidence crisis" in American politics
<u>Explain:</u>	The relationship between faith and leadership in the American political system
<u>Discuss:</u>	Why terms such as "conservative" or "liberal" fail to describe the attitudes of the average American
<u>Outline:</u>	The conflicting views regarding the mass media's influence
<u>Review:</u>	The range of charges regarding the media's partisanship and bias
<u>Debate:</u>	The need to reform the media's role in politics

ANSWERS

Pretest:

- 1. b
- 2. a
- 3. d
- 4. c
- 5. d
- 6. d
- 7. c
- 8. c
- 9. d
- 10. d

Programmed Review:

1. public opinion
2. fluidity
3. stability
4. latent
5. relevant
6. heroes; symbols
7. confidence
8. do not
9. family
10. Watergate
11. Establishment
12. cross pressure
13. representative
14. quota
15. multiple
16. selective
17. Bible
18. play down
19. ultra-liberal
20. television; radio
21. Republican
22. liberal; conservative
23. electronic throne
24. television
25. local

Posttest:

1. a
2. c
3. c
4. b
5. a
6. d
7. d
8. a
9. b
10. b

Chapter 10

Participation: leaders, voters, inactives

Voting has always been somewhat of a mystery, but thanks to recent research we now know more about it. As this chapter shows, we have learned more about both voting and nonvoting, about the extent of political participation and the reason behind it. Perhaps the most important studies give us a better idea of how people make voting decisions and of the changes in voting patterns that are occurring in the 1980's.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE BALLOT
 - A. Original property qualifications
 - B. One man, one vote
 - C. Suffrage and Sexism
- II. WHO VOTES: WHO DOES NOT?
 - A. Why is the turnout so low?
 - B. Who fails to vote?
 - C. Voting in different types of elections
- III. HOW WE VOTE
- IV. WHY WE VOTE AS WE DO
 - A. Voting patterns
 - B. The independents

V. LEADERS, PARTICIPANTS, INACTIVES

- A. Leadership, USA
- B. Grass roots participation
- C. Nonparticipants

PRETEST

1. Nonvoters do not have one of the following characteristics:
 - a. apathy
 - b. anomic
 - c. antagonistic
 - d. alienated
2. An overrepresented group of Americans is
 - a. government workers
 - b. union members
 - c. women
 - d. Blacks
3. An institutional barrier that blocks people from voting is
 - a. distant voting booths
 - b. registration
 - c. unattractive candidates
 - d. lack of party competition
4. The group least apt to vote is
 - a. 18-20 year olds
 - b. Gray Panthers
 - c. blue collar workers
 - d. women
5. The most homogeneous of all groups in molding political opinions is
 - a. school
 - b. work
 - c. church membership
 - d. family
6. Which of the following was least likely to vote Democratic in recent elections
 - a. Jews
 - b. Blacks
 - c. White Protestants
 - d. Catholics
7. For voting in presidential elections Congress has established a residency requirement of
 - a. 30 days
 - b. 3 months
 - c. 6 months
 - d. 1 year
8. In the history of American suffrage, originally the right to vote was given only to
 - a. government officials
 - b. the aristocracy
 - c. all men over the age of 25
 - d. property-owning males

9. Older voters tend to vote on the basis of
- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. party loyalty | c. socioeconomic status |
| b. educational background | d. none of these |
10. Younger voters with above-average incomes and college educations tend to be
- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| a. partisan | c. independent |
| b. reluctant to vote at all | d. Democrats |

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To trace the evolving struggle for the ballot

1. The first great struggle to expand suffrage was against _____ tests for voting
2. The second great struggle over suffrage was over _____ voting rights
3. The third great battle for the ballot was over the right of _____ Americans to vote

Knowledge Objective: To identify those who vote and those who do not

4. In recent presidential elections slightly more than _____ (half/three quarters) of potential voters cast ballots
5. Compared to other nations, voting participation by Americans is _____ (low/high)
6. Millions of Americans fail to vote because they feel there is no real _____
7. The key factor that determined the degree of voting participation is _____
8. Persons in the 18-24 age group have the _____ (highest/lowest) voting participation record
9. Highly educated people are _____ (more/less) apt to vote
10. Voting is _____ in areas with little two-party competition
11. The paramount reasons for nonvoting are _____ and _____
12. Institutional blocks are largely _____ and the _____ ballot requirements

13. In 1970 Congress established a _____ day residency requirement for presidential elections

Knowledge Objective: To determine the patterns of American voting

14. Sectional patterns of voting tend to be _____ (clear/fuzzy)
15. Our national elections are frequently unpredictable because of the millions of _____ voters
16. The _____ has the greatest influence in determining a person's voting patterns and party allegiance
17. The best indicator of how a person will vote is _____ identification
18. High income tends to be associated with the _____ party
19. The difference between the percentage of men and women who vote has virtually _____
20. Nonvoting on the part of the poor is a part of a larger _____ and _____ environment that discourages political activity
21. The ability of a popular presidential candidate to help elect other candidates is called the _____ effect
22. It seems that the religious cleavage in American politics continues on a _____ trend
23. Approximately a third of the voters can be called _____
24. Blacks today are the strongest supporters of the _____ party
25. Young voters _____ (are/are not) apt to be strong supporters of one political party

Knowledge Objective: To examine the role of leaders, participants and inactives in voting behavior

26. Today Americans have liberty to participate in politics but in practice lack _____
27. True leaders give direction to the aspirations of _____ (themselves/their followers)
28. Apathetic, anomic and alienated are terms used to describe _____
29. Those psychologically involved in politics are more likely to feel _____ in political action

POSTTEST

1. The order in which the vote was granted to new groups was
 - a. nonpropertied White males, women, Blacks
 - b. 18-year-olds, Blacks, women
 - c. women, nonpropertied White males, Blacks
 - d. Blacks, women, 18-year-olds
2. On the average, the proportion of Americans who vote is larger than that in
 - a. England
 - b. France
 - c. Barbados
 - d. Sweden
3. One of the following is not a reason why low-income people vote in fewer numbers
 - a. they have less sense of involvement and confidence
 - b. they feel at a disadvantage in social contacts
 - c. their social norms tend to deemphasize politics
 - d. they can't afford registration fees
4. All of the following are true about voter statistics except
 - a. Men outvote women by a large majority
 - b. Middle-aged people are more likely to vote than younger people
 - c. College-educated persons vote more than high school graduates
 - d. Persons who are active in organized groups are more likely to vote
5. If one candidate is an especially able vote-getter, the party's whole slate may gain. This is called
 - a. winner take all
 - b. the coattail effect
 - c. the domino effect
 - d. piggy backing
6. All the following are true except
 - a. Voting and nonvoting are influenced by historical, institutional and psychological factors
 - b. Higher-income, better-educated, middle-aged and partisan persons are more likely to vote
 - c. Voting turnout tends to be higher for local elections than for national ones
 - d. Voting as a whole tends to follow roughly sectional, national, and interoffice patterns over time
7. Groups vary considerably in their voting potential. Which of the following is less likely to go to the polls on election day?
 - a. college professors
 - b. lawyers
 - c. laborers
 - d. business people

8. The type of election generally affects the size of the turnout.
Which of the following would be likely to bring the largest vote:
- a. school board
 - b. city council
 - c. Congress
 - d. president
9. Historically, the Republican party has found its greatest strength in
- a. parts of the Midwest and New England
 - b. the South
 - c. the border states
 - d. the cities
10. The group least apt to vote is
- a. Chicanos
 - b. Blacks
 - c. unmarried
 - d. Southerners

KEY CONCEPTS

<u>Indicate:</u>	The characteristics of a good political leader
<u>Describe:</u>	The three great struggles for the extension of suffrage
<u>Analyze:</u>	Why people fail to vote
<u>Describe:</u>	The categories that voters and nonvoters fall into
<u>Suggest:</u>	Ways in which the lower socioeconomic classes could be motivated to vote more (give some of your own suggestions)
<u>Analyze:</u>	What type of voter is likely to be an independent
<u>Discuss:</u>	Factors motivating people to become participants in politics

ANSWERS

Pretest:

- 1. c
- 2. a
- 3. b
- 4. a
- 5. d
- 6. c
- 7. a

8. d
9. c
10. c

Programmed Review:

1. property
2. women's
3. black
4. half
5. low
6. choice
7. income
8. lowest
9. more
10. lowest
11. institutional; political
12. registration; absentee
13. 30
14. fuzzy
15. independent
16. family
17. party
18. Republican
19. disappeared
20. political; psychological
21. coattail
22. downward
23. independent
24. Democratic
25. are not
26. equality
27. followers
28. nonvoter
29. effective

Posttest:

1. d
2. c
3. d
4. a
5. b
6. c
7. c
8. d
9. a
10. a

Chapter 11

Parties: decline and renewal?

In this chapter we examine what political parties do and the causes of their decline in recent years. Political parties have many functions: simplifying choices, stimulating interest, recruiting leaders, aggregating interests, linking the mass public with government. Despite the importance of what they do, political parties seem to be declining. Numerous proposals are offered to strengthen our parties. These include procedural reform, broadening participation, changing delegate selection, and modernizing party policies and organization.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES IN TROUBLE
 - A. Critics charge: evasion of issues, failure to keep promises, bankruptcy in ideas, inability to lead and formulate public opinion
 - B. Independent and split-ticket voters increasing
 - C. Watergate spotlighted weakness and ambiguities
- II. PARTIES: THEIR RISE AND THEIR ROLE
 - A. Parties consist of leaders, party activists, and voters
 - B. The rise of the grand coalitions
 - C. Key aspects of parties today
 - D. New wine in old bottles?
 - E. No place for third parties?

III. PARTY FUNCTIONS: A HEAVY BURDEN

- A. Historic function: to unify the electorate and conciliate groups
- B. Changes over time: public welfare
- C. Party functions today: simplifying choices, stimulating interest, recruiting personnel, unifying groups, linking the mass public and government
- D. Nominating candidates: caucus, convention, primary
- E. The declining parties: do we care?

IV. THE CLANKING PARTY MACHINERY

- A. Weakness at the top: the national committee and its chairperson
- B. Parties at the grass roots: local committees lack organization, finance, and generally are inactive

V. ARE PARTIES WORTH SAVING?

- A. Critics charge: lack of issues and weak organization
- B. Tweedledum and Tweedledee?
 - 1. Lack of issues orientation overstated
 - 2. Differences between party platforms significant
 - 3. Party lines in Congress generally strong
- C. Parties in disarray
 - 1. Party membership: professionals and amateurs
 - 2. Variety of membership: strengths and handicaps
- D. Parties v. progress
 - 1. Criticized for failing in times of rapid social change
 - 2. Supporters assert decentralized parties are appropriate
 - 3. Parties: growing and living institutions

VI. SAVING THE PARTIES

- A. Procedural reforms
- B. Renewal
- C. Realignment

PRETEST

1. American political parties have emerged chronologically in this order
 - a. Federalists, Whigs, Democrats
 - b. Democratic-Republicans, Democrats, Republicans
 - c. Dixicrats, Progressives, Free Soilers
 - d. Federalists, Republicans, Democrats
2. Managing the presidential campaign is the job of
 - a. the national committee
 - b. the national chairman
 - c. the attorney-general
 - d. the presidential press secretary

3. The first Republican party was led by
 - a. Jefferson
 - b. Hamilton
 - c. Washington
 - d. Adams
4. The more partisan a person is, the more likely he or she will look at his or her party's position with
 - a. disregard
 - b. perceptual distortion
 - c. objectivity
 - d. evasion
5. During the 1972 campaign, Richard Nixon depended largely on
 - a. the Republican party
 - b. a personal organization called CREEP
 - c. television
 - d. personal popularity
6. The purpose of a political party is
 - a. to recruit potential officeholders
 - b. to simplify alternatives
 - c. to unite the electorate
 - d. all of these
7. A striking characteristic of third parties is that
 - a. they advance controversial issues and ideas
 - b. they are always radical
 - c. they are always conservative
 - d. they have no place in the American system
8. The most significant factor influencing the character of American political parties is
 - a. the federal system
 - b. the national convention
 - c. the party seniority system
 - d. the presidential primary
9. Which of the following is not a present-day function of political parties?
 - a. distribution of welfare handouts
 - b. stimulation of interest in public affairs
 - c. recruitment of political leadership
 - d. linkage between the mass public and government
10. A major cause for the persistence of the two-party system in the United States is that
 - a. the major parties have become disciplined and issue-oriented
 - b. election districts have a single incumbent
 - c. third parties have failed to point up issues
 - d. major party ideas and platforms are too much like religious dogma

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To review the state of our parties

1. The number of "strong" Republicans and Democrats has declined by about _____ in the past twenty-five years
2. During the past twenty years the number of _____ has grown rapidly
3. Modern political parties have _____ (more/less) voice in choosing presidential candidates
4. The Federalist party was challenged by the first _____ party, headed by Jefferson
5. Today's _____ party (Grand Old Party) arose out of the Civil War
6. _____ created a party coalition of Southerners, labor, farmers, the unemployed and minorities
7. _____ created a party coalition of business, "hard hats", Southern conservatives, and suburbanites
8. Both parties today are _____ (moderate/sharply different) in policies and leadership
9. Parties tend to _____ power
10. The American two-party system is maintained because in our single election districts only _____ candidate wins

Knowledge Objective: To analyze party functions

11. Political parties formerly served as a kind of employment agency through their control of _____
12. The Supreme Court has held that it is _____ to dismiss a public employee for partisan political reasons
13. Party _____ include simplifying issues, stimulating interest, uniting different segments of society, and recruiting political leadership
14. As a method of choosing candidates, the caucus was replaced by party _____ which on the state level were replaced by the _____
15. The reason why political parties are so decentralized is the _____ basis of our government

16. American political parties are basically loose _____ of state and local committees
17. The supreme authority in both political parties is the national _____ convention
18. A national _____ heads each of the two major parties
19. Lacking organized party support in seeking nomination, a candidate builds a _____ organization
20. Elections are regulated and run by _____, not the national government
21. The main charge against political parties are failure to take meaningful stands on _____ and weak _____
22. The tendency to look at events through the eyes of a person's political party is called _____ perception or _____ distortion
23. Recent scholars conclude that the Democratic and Republican parties are not _____ and _____
24. The two types of members in our political parties are _____ or "regulars" and _____
25. Parties appear to perform a "peacemaking" function best in time of _____ social change

Knowledge Objective: To look at the question "Can parties be saved?"

26. The forces for reform in the Democratic party were hotly opposed by more _____ Democrats
27. In 1974 in Kansas City the Democratic party held a _____ conference
28. The _____ conference seems to have become a permanent feature of the national Democratic party structure
29. _____ have followed a middle path in their efforts at party reform
30. Both political parties today seem to be _____ (able/unable) to unite classes, groups and regions into broad coalitions

POSTTEST

1. Which of the following has almost doubled during the past decade
 - a. Democrats
 - b. Republicans
 - c. independents
 - d. Socialists

2. The party that refused to face the issue of slavery and was replaced by the modern Republican party was
 - a. the second Federalist party
 - b. the new Democratic party
 - c. The Whig party
 - d. the second Republican party
3. Third-party leaders have included all the following except
 - a. Henry Wallace
 - b. Eugene McCarthy
 - c. George Wallace
 - d. Governor Jerry Brown
4. In both major parties, the supreme authority is
 - a. the candidate
 - b. the party chairman
 - c. the national presidential convention
 - d. the primaries
5. The grass roots of each party is
 - a. in the Deep South
 - b. in the western states
 - c. at the city, town, ward, and precinct level
 - d. at the family, church, and school level
6. The party that put together a grand coalition lasting from the Civil War until 1932 was
 - a. Democratic
 - b. Republican
 - c. Whigs
 - d. none of these
7. Street riots and other disturbances characterized the Democratic party convention in
 - a. Kansas City, 1976
 - b. Atlantic City, 1964
 - c. Chicago, 1968
 - d. New York 1976
8. The Democratic party has tried to improve party structure and establish a party policy on issues through use of
 - a. midterm conferences
 - b. caucuses
 - c. party dues
 - d. regional seminars
9. Republicans in the past decade have not emphasized one of the following reforms
 - a. membership recruitment
 - b. racial and sex quotas
 - c. grass roots organization
 - d. candidate training programs

10. Both major political parties today are

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| a. relatively weak | c. class oriented |
| b. strong coalitions | d. tightly disciplined |

KEY CONCEPTS

<u>Compare:</u>	The party coalitions put together by FDR, Nixon and Carter
<u>List:</u>	Republican party reforms under Bill Brock's leadership
<u>Discuss:</u>	The forces that cause the emergence of third parties
<u>Debate:</u>	Third parties are worth saving
<u>Explain:</u>	What is meant by a "grand coalition"
<u>Describe:</u>	The specific ways in which the two major parties differ
<u>Indicate:</u>	How and why American political parties are in trouble
<u>Explain:</u>	Why the United States has a two-party system
<u>Explain:</u>	What is the purpose of a charter conference
<u>Describe:</u>	The reforms or changes proposed by the Democratic party commissions for the national nominating convention
<u>Describe:</u>	The socioeconomic background of Republican rank-and-filers as compared with Democratic rank-and-filers

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. b
2. b
3. a
4. b
5. b
6. d
7. a
8. a
9. a
10. b

Programmed Review:

1. one-third
2. independents
3. less
4. Republican
5. Republican
6. FDR
7. Nixon
8. moderate
9. concentrate
10. one
11. patronage
12. unconstitutional
13. functions
14. conventions; primaries
15. federal
16. coalition
17. presidential
18. committee
19. personal
20. states
21. issues; organization
22. selective; perceptual
23. Tweedledee; Tweedledum
24. professionals; volunteers
25. slow
26. centerist
27. charter
28. midterm
29. Republicans
30. unable

Posttest:

1. c
2. c
3. d
4. c
5. c
6. b
7. c
8. a
9. b
10. a

Chapter 12

Elections: the struggle for office

Elections have always been somewhat of a mystery. However, in recent years, thanks to the research on voting behavior, we have greater understanding. We know, for example, that election mechanics--type and length of ballot, open or closed primary--have political consequences. This chapter explores the impact of the rules as well as the influences of political money. From here the discussion moves to running for Congress, the differences between campaigning for House and Senate, and the race for the biggest prize of all -- the presidency. The final section deals with the mechanics and politics of the electoral college, the role of the mass media, and proposed reforms of the presidential primary system.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. CONTRASTING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS: 1880 VERSUS 1980
- II. RUNNING FOR CONGRESS TODAY
 - A. Lack of competitiveness in House and impact of presidential elections
 - B. Campaigning for the House: timing, visibility, personal organization, party support, personal contact
 - C. Running for the Senate: big-time politics
 - 1. Cost, national issues, and campaign technology
 - 2. Incumbency weighs heavily
 - 3. Ride presidential coattails or dissociate?
 - 4. Independents make campaigning more important
 - 5. Women as candidates

- III. NOMINATING A PRESIDENT: PRECONVENTION CAMPAIGN, PRIMARIES AND CONVENTION
 - A. Choosing delegates: conventions and primaries
 - B. Types of presidential primaries
 - C. Presidential conventions: platform; nominating president and vice president
- IV. THE FALL CAMPAIGN
 - A. Campaign Strategy
 - B. Presidential debates
 - C. Electoral College system: mechanics and politics
 - D. The mass media image campaign
- V. CAMPAIGN STRATEGY
 - A. Who gives and why
 - B. Campaign costs
 - C. Regulation of spending: 1971-1974 laws
 - D. Impact of campaign finance laws
- VI. CRITICISM OF THE PRESIDENTIAL SELECTION SYSTEM
 - A. Pros and cons of primaries
 - B. Proposed reforms
 - C. Reforming the electoral college

PRETEST

- 1. The most important factor in winning a Congressional race is
 - a. personal contact
 - b. TV time
 - c. press coverage
 - d. money
- 2. The media during a presidential election tends not to stress
 - a. issues
 - b. personalities
 - c. strategy
 - d. the race
- 3. Recent studies of the media's political reporting tend to be critical of their
 - a. partisan bias
 - b. skimpy political coverage
 - c. repetitive coverage of issues
 - d. concern with the election as a contest
- 4. The campaign reform law of 1974 was chiefly concerned with
 - a. campaign finance
 - b. media coverage
 - c. nomination procedures
 - d. delegate selection

5. To attain the presidency, a candidate must achieve two goals. These are
- a. have the largest number of delegates prior to coming to the national convention, and then obtain a majority of the popular vote
 - b. be nominated at the party convention, and obtain a majority of the electoral votes
 - c. be nominated at the party's convention, and obtain both a majority of the popular vote and the electoral vote
 - d. be nominated at the party convention and win a majority of the popular vote
6. Why is it that Democratic conventions have more delegates?
- a. because a larger number of voters are Democrats
 - b. because Democrats give each delegate only a single vote, whereas Republicans give each delegate two votes
 - c. because Democrats give some delegates only a half a vote, whereas Republicans give delegates a single vote
 - d. because of their quota system
7. In the opinion of observers, which of the following candidates gained votes for his ticket in the 1976 TV debates:
- a. Ford
 - b. Carter
 - c. Mondale
 - d. Dole
8. In the event that no presidential candidate receives a majority of the electoral vote, the president is chosen by
- a. Congress
 - b. Supreme Court
 - c. House of Representatives
 - d. Senate
9. In 1980 both Reagan and Carter received public subsidies for their campaigns of almost
- a. \$ 5 million
 - b. \$10 million
 - c. \$15 million
 - d. \$30 million
10. The number of citizens of voting age who failed to vote in 1980 was about
- a. three-quarters
 - b. one-fifth
 - c. one quarter
 - d. half

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To examine the process of running for Congress

1. Competitiveness in Congressional elections _____ (has/has not) declined over the past twenty years
2. Senate elections are likely to be _____ (more/less) competitive than House elections
3. Congressional candidates whose vote is increased by a strong presidential candidate are said to benefit from the _____ influence
4. Congressional candidates _____ (do/do not) receive federal campaign funds
5. Keeping a House seat is _____ (easier/harder) than gaining one
6. The party in power's share of the congressional vote in the mid-term elections almost always _____
7. It may well be that we are entering a period in which _____ will become more significant in determining election outcomes
8. The general picture of success by women who run for political office is _____ (encouraging/bleak)
9. Women political candidates of attractive appearance have an additional _____ (handicap/advantage)

Knowledge Objective: To trace the steps in nominating and electing a president

10. Presidential candidates are now selected by their parties chiefly through the use of _____
11. When voters in a presidential primary indicate their preference from a list of candidates, the election is commonly referred to as a _____ contest
12. National conventions normally select a party candidate for president and vice president and write a _____
13. The party platform is _____ (binding/non binding) on the candidate
14. Presidential candidate "bloopers" appear to have _____ (little/great) effect on the final vote
15. To win the presidency the candidate must have a majority vote of the _____

16. Under the electoral college system a candidate either wins _____ or _____ of a state's electoral vote
17. Most states provide for the selection of electors on a _____ (state/district) basis

Knowledge Objective: To evaluate the role of the media in a presidential election

18. The media tend to portray the presidential election as a _____
19. Public relations experts attached to campaigns tend to stress the candidate's _____
20. Election experts tend to determine their campaign strategy on the basis of _____
21. Old-time party leaders have been replaced in presidential campaigns by experts and _____
22. A heavily-financed television campaign for the Republican nomination of 1980 for _____ failed

Knowledge Objective: To explore the financial base of presidential campaigns

23. Americans spend much _____ money per voter than do most countries on their elections
24. Among democratic countries the _____ is almost alone in not providing candidates free media access
25. Reform of political money has pursued three basic strategies: limitations, disclosure, and government _____ for campaigns
26. The 1974 campaign reform law achieved a breakthrough by providing for public _____ of presidential campaigns
27. The Court has held that if a party or candidate takes public funds, they can be required to _____ what they spend in the campaign
28. The 1974 Campaign Reform Act applied only to presidential campaigns and not to _____ campaigns
29. The great bulk of private campaign money comes from _____, _____ and _____ groups
30. Major party candidates for the presidency now get _____ million in public funds to finance their general election campaigns

31. Most money for the presidential election now comes from _____ sources

Knowledge Objective: To study proposed reforms of the electoral college and presidential primaries

32. Most criticism of presidential primaries suggests that they extend over too _____ (long/short) a period

33. Reform of presidential primaries concentrates on _____ or a _____ primary

34. Abolition of the electoral college seems to be a reform whose time _____ (has/has not) come

POSTTEST

1. Only one of the following presidential candidates was not elected although he received more popular votes than his opponent

- | | |
|--------------|-----------|
| a. Jackson | c. Tilden |
| b. Cleveland | d. Truman |

2. The bias of the electoral college favors

- | | |
|---------------------|------------------------------|
| a. one-party states | c. populous urban states |
| b. rural areas | d. modified one-party states |

3. A state's electoral vote is determined by

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. population | c. a complicated formula devised by congress |
| b. previous voting patterns in presidential elections | d. the number of its representatives and senators |

4. The Court voided which of the following provisions of the 1974 campaign reform law

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| a. limitations on spending | c. public funding of presidential elections |
| b. limitations on giving | d. election-day registration |

5. To be elected president, a candidate must receive

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| a. a plurality of electoral votes | c. a majority of states as well as electoral votes |
| b. a majority of electoral votes | d. a majority of the popular vote |

6. Most delegates to the national nominating convention are chosen by
 - a. popular votes
 - b. primary elections
 - c. state conventions
 - d. state committees
7. Presidential candidates are nominated by
 - a. party caucus
 - b. national party convention
 - c. national party committee
 - d. presidential primary
8. New candidates for the House of Representatives are normally concerned with
 - a. timing
 - b. financial support
 - c. recognition
 - d. all of the above
9. The number of women who are now members of the Senate is
 - a. seven
 - b. thirteen
 - c. one
 - d. five
10. In presidential elections the media tend to:
 - a. be manipulated by candidates
 - b. have little impact
 - c. have a great influence
 - d. mirror the political scene

KEY CONCEPTS

- List: The special handicaps faced by women political candidates
- Evaluate: The power of the media and their role in political campaigns
- Explain: The traditional way presidential candidates obtained campaign funds prior to Watergate (discuss the motives behind giving political money and analyze the strategies of reformers to prevent abuses that occurred when political money was given)
- Explain: What the congressional campaign reform measure of 1974 entailed (include some of the potential weaknesses of this reform measure)
- Describe: The different presidential primaries (include the different ways delegates are elected and the extent of delegate commitment to a presidential candidate)

Analyze:

The pros and cons of the electoral college system
(include methods proposed to reform it)

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. a
2. a
3. d
4. a
5. b
6. c
7. c
8. c
9. d
10. d

Programmed Review:

1. has
2. more
3. coattail
4. do not
5. easier
6. declines
7. campaigns
8. bleak
9. handicap
10. primaries
11. beauty
12. platform
13. non binding
14. little
15. electoral college
16. all; none
17. state wide
18. race
19. image
20. polls
21. consultants
22. John Connally
23. less
24. United States
25. subsidies
26. financing
27. limit
28. Congressional
29. business; professional; labor

30. thirty
31. government
32. long
33. national; regional
34. has not

Posttest:

1. d
2. c
3. d
4. a
5. b
6. b
7. b
8. d
9. c
10. c

Chapter 13

Congress: the people's branch?

To understand Congress it is important to examine the characteristics of members of Congress, the impact of state districts and careerism, and the members' lawmaking representation roles. It is also necessary to understand the legislative "struggle," the unique nature of each house of Congress, and the manner in which Congress is attempting to resolve such questions as conflict of interest and the undue delegation of power. These are the topics of this chapter.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. CONGRESS IN THE PUBLIC EYE
 - A. Mass media exposure
 - B. Confusion over the role and function of Congress
- II. WHO IS IN CONGRESS?
 - A. Formal qualifications and typical backgrounds
 - B. A profile of national legislators
- III. SAFE DISTRICTS AND CAREERISM: THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO LEADERSHIP AND THE SENIORITY SYSTEM
 - A. Reapportionment and safe districts
 - B. The results of stable majorities
- IV. CONGRESSIONAL POWER
 - A. Formal constitutional powers
 - B. The impact of the times
 - C. Influence of the president

V. THE JOB OF THE LEGISLATOR

- A. Functions: representation; lawmaking, consensus-building, overseeing, policy-clarification, legitimizing
- B. Representation: delegate or trustee?
- C. Influences on Congress: constituents; fellow members; lobbyists; political party; power bloc; the president

VI. THE LEGISLATIVE OBSTACLE COURSE

- A. Dispersion of power; committee system
- B. Need to mobilize majorities repeatedly

VII. HOUSES OF CONGRESS

- A. House
 - 1. Speaker gains influence; House Rules Committee loses power
 - 2. Importance of party caucus
- B. Senate: unlimited debate and informal procedures
 - 1. Majority leader center of power
 - 2. Party policy committees
 - 3. Reciprocity: filibuster and its political consequences

VIII. COMMITTEES: THE LITTLE LEGISLATURES

- A. Legislative "struggle"
- B. Standing committees: choosing members
 - 1. Discharge petition
 - 2. Chairmanship and staff control of committees
 - 3. Seniority challenges
 - 4. Committee investigations: politics and information

IX. THE HOUSE V. THE SENATE

- A. House established as tribune of people, Senate as conservative check: reversal of roles?
- B. Senate: court of appeals on appropriations?
- C. Conference committee functions

X. CRITICISMS OF CONGRESS

- A. Inefficiency: procedural road blocks; seniority; minority veto
- B. Unrepresentative
- C. Unethical
- D. Irresponsible
- E. Too much delegation of power

PRETEST

- 1. All of the following are true about senators and representatives except

- a. they come overwhelmingly from upper and middle-class families
 - b. over half the members of Congress are lawyers
 - c. members come disproportionately from rural areas
 - d. over a third of the members of Congress emerge out of our trade unions or the so-called blue collar occupations
2. Gerrymandering occurs when the majority party
- a. supports benefits for blue collar workers in heavily populated districts
 - b. promises to promote legislation for certain districts
 - c. draws district lines to win as many districts as possible
 - d. draws district lines to maximize its popular vote
3. The number of house members who are reelected is about
- a. 10 percent
 - b. 50 percent
 - c. 75 percent
 - d. 90 percent
4. In 1964 the Supreme Court laid down the following standards for congressional reapportionment
- a. A state legislature must justify any variance from precise mathematical equality
 - b. The desire for state legislatures to maintain the specific interests of particular districts is valid
 - c. Federal courts will replace state legislatures in drawing district lines
 - d. Congress will draw new district lines
5. The role of the president has been enhanced at the expense of Congress in all of the following ways except
- a. The president alone has the expertise for domestic policy making
 - b. Presidents have resorted increasingly to executive agreements in foreign relations
 - c. The president is commander in chief of the armed forces
 - d. More and more legislation originates with the executive department
6. The Speaker of the House of Representatives does all of the following except

- a. He can grant recognition to or withhold it from a member
 - b. He appoints members of select and conference committees
 - c. He controls committee assignments
 - d. He directs the general business on the floor
7. In the Senate, the committee responsible for each party's overall legislative program is called the _____ committee
- a. policy
 - b. direction
 - c. strategy
 - d. ways-and-means
8. Legislators who base their votes on their analysis of the long-run welfare of the nation are playing a _____ role
- a. delegate
 - b. trustee
 - c. pragmatic
 - d. pollster's
9. Critics have complained that the seniority system, has biased both houses toward
- a. liberalism
 - b. a "dictatorial" rule by the chairman
 - c. conservatism
 - d. do-nothingism
10. Critics charge Congress is a brokerage system. This means
- a. Members gamble on which bills to pass based on their home constituencies
 - b. There is too great a dispersion of power among committee leaders
 - c. The majority is so dominant that the minority is virtually powerless
 - d. All members exercise options

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To review the image of Congress in the public eye

- 1. The chief public complaints about Congress are that it is _____, _____, and not accountable enough
- 2. Much of the ridicule of Congress is _____ (justified/unjustified)
- 3. The multiple roles that Congress attempts to play results in both public and internal _____

Knowledge Objective: To analyze the composition, attitudes and career security of national legislators

4. The overwhelming number of national legislators are from _____ to _____ income backgrounds
5. Well over 50 percent of the legislators are _____ by profession
6. _____ is the process of drawing electoral boundaries to maximize the majority party's house majority
7. Redrawing the district lines of U. S. Representatives after each census is the responsibility of _____
8. The Senate has the power to _____ presidential nominations
9. Congress performs the functions of representation, consensus building, legitimizing, policy clarification, and _____
10. Members of Congress who see their role as _____ believe they should serve the "folks back home"
11. Members of Congress who see their role as _____ are free-thinking legislators who vote their conscience
12. The main influence on legislators is their perception of how their _____ feel about the matters brought before Congress
13. Party leaders in both the executive and legislative branches apply _____ and _____ to members of their party

Knowledge Objective: To observe the legislative obstacle course

14. From the very beginning, Congress has been a system of multiple _____
15. To follow a bill through the congressional labyrinth is to see the _____ of power in Congress
16. Proponents of new legislation must win at every step; _____ need win only once

Knowledge Objective: To analyze the structure of the houses of Congress

17. By sitting as the Committee of the _____, the House is able to operate more informally and expeditiously than under regular rules
18. The speaker of the House chairs the influential _____ Committee that was created in 1973
19. Assisting each floor leader are the party _____ who serve as liaisons between the House leadership and the rank-and-file members

20. In the Senate, each party has a _____ which is in theory responsible for the party's overall legislative program
21. By far the most important and enduring of the folkways in the Senate is _____

22. Debate in the Senate can be shut off only by a _____ vote

Knowledge Objective: To examine the committee system

23. The _____ committee receives all bills introduced in the House
24. The fact that eighteen different committees can deal with the same educational programs is referred to as _____ overlap
25. _____ are still usually named on the basis of seniority

Knowledge Objective: To compare the House and the Senate

26. Executive departments and agencies often view the Senate as a court of appeals for appropriations that have been "shot down" by _____
27. If neither house will accept the other's bill, a _____ settles the difference

Knowledge Objective: To examine major criticisms of Congress

28. Critics judge that Congress is _____ because the committee system responds too much to organized regional interests
29. ABSCAM, the Elizabeth Ray Affair and South Korean bribes are all cited as examples of _____ behavior by Congress
30. Congress _____ (has/has not) created Ethics Committees to monitor the behavior of members
31. There is a constant tendency for Congress to delegate authority to _____ agencies

POSTTEST

1. The profile of a typical Senator or Representative would tend to bear out the charge that they
- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. are elitist | c. are lower middle class |
| b. are ill educated | d. overrepresent minorities |

2. Members of Congress from competitive districts are apt to make _____ their first priority
 - a. serving the home folks
 - b. foreign policy
 - c. national issues
 - d. supporting the president
3. Special responsibilities of the Senate do not include two of the following
 - a. ratification of treaties
 - b. confirmation of presidential nominees
 - c. a final veto on appropriations
 - d. nomination of ambassadors to foreign countries
4. Confusion in the internal functioning of Congress arises from
 - a. complexity of procedures
 - b. the number of legislators
 - c. the highly decentralized power arrangements
 - d. excessive staff power
5. Critics of the Supreme Court's reapportionment ruling believe it
 - a. created unsafe seats for legislators
 - b. creates a tremendous legislative turnover
 - c. encourages careerism
 - d. increased rural representation
6. Free-thinking and independent legislators see their role as
 - a. national figures
 - b. trustees
 - c. diplomats
 - d. ambassadors from localities
7. The role of the president has been enhanced at the expense of the Congress, especially _____ policy
 - a. domestic
 - b. foreign
 - c. economic
 - d. social
8. The vast majority of the 20,000 or so bills introduced every two years in both chambers are
 - a. passed
 - b. still under debate
 - c. killed
 - d. withdrawn
9. The majority floor leader is an officer
 - a. only of his party
 - b. in charge of both parties in standing and conference committees
 - c. in charge of both parties on the floor
 - d. who presides over the Senate

10. House party whips do all of the following except

- | | |
|--|---|
| a. serve as liaison between the leadership of each party and the rank and file | c. lobby strongly for support of the leadership of the house |
| b. inform members when important bills will come up for a vote | d. try to ensure maximum attendance on the floor when critical votes are imminent |

KEY CONCEPTS

<u>Discuss:</u>	The major criticisms of Congress and proposals for reform
<u>Discuss:</u>	The kinds of confusion that arise within the congressional system (include complaints from senators and representatives)
<u>Discuss:</u>	The chief characteristics of the typical national legislator (include changes under way in this makeup)
<u>Describe:</u>	The politics of reapportionment
<u>Analyze:</u>	The consequences of reapportionment on the makeup and attitudes of Congress
<u>Discuss:</u>	The role of the legislator as politician, committee member, delegate and/or trustee
<u>Explain:</u>	The types of pressures and influences a legislator is subject to in decision-making or lawmaking roles
<u>Analyze:</u>	The pathway of a bill through both houses (include how and where it can be stopped, and the ends of the pathway)

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. d
2. c
3. d
4. a
5. a
6. c
7. a
8. b
9. c

10. b

Programmed Review:

1. inefficient; unrepresentative
2. unjustified
3. confusion
4. middle; upper middle
5. lawyers
6. gerrymandering
7. state legislatures
8. confirm
9. overseeing
10. delegate
11. trustee
12. constituent
13. rewards and penalties
14. vetoes
15. dispersion
16. opponents
17. Whole
18. Steering and Policy
19. whips
20. policy committee
21. reciprocity
22. cloture
23. standing
24. jurisdictional
25. chairpersons
26. the House
27. conference committee
28. unrepresentative
29. unethical
30. have
31. administrative

Posttest:

1. a
2. a
3. c, d
4. d
5. c
6. b
7. b
8. c
9. a
10. c

Chapter 14

The presidency: leadership branch?

For the past generation, domestic and foreign crises have increased presidential power and responsibility. Additionally, there have been rising public expectations regarding strong presidential leadership. The result has been the emergence of the presidency as the leadership branch. Today, as we will see in this chapter, in spite of the "swelling" of the presidency and the Watergate scandals, the office still remains powerful, with great potential for leadership.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. THE PRESIDENT'S CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION
 - A. Intermingled powers of the three branches
 - B. Extension of presidential power limits
 - C. Congressional delegation of power: crises and war; domestic and economic problems; public expectations
 - D. The need for a more open, leaner presidency
 - E. Looking for leadership in the 1980's
- II. THE STRONG PRESIDENCY REAPPRAISED
 - A. The purposes and process of presidential power
 - B. Spokesman of popular majorities
 - C. Watergate: the need for new checks and balances?

III. THE JOB OF THE PRESIDENT

- A. Crisis Management
- B. Symbolic-Morale Building Leader
- C. Recruiter-in-chief
- D. Priority-setter; problem-clarifier
- E. Coalition Builder
- F. Chief Administrator

IV. THE PRESIDENTIAL ESTABLISHMENT

- A. The executive office: the president's immediate staff
- B. The cabinet
- C. The vice-presidency: White House puppet?
 - 1. Duties mainly ceremonial
 - 2. 22nd and 25th amendments: a path to the presidency

V. MAKING THE PRESIDENCY SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY

- A. Presidential character
- B. New Checks and Balances
- C. Public skepticism and expectations

PRETEST

1. Television does not make it possible for the president to
 - a. talk directly to the people
 - b. ignore Congress
 - c. bypass the Washington press
 - d. ignore public opinion
2. Critics of the presidency seldom charge that it is a _____ institution
 - a. remote, aristocratic
 - b. weak, flabby
 - c. status quo
 - d. Establishment
3. Only one of the following presidents is apt to appear on a list of "greats"
 - a. Buchanan
 - b. Grant
 - c. Truman
 - d. Harding
4. The framers of the constitution did not anticipate presidential _____
 - a. symbolic functions
 - b. abuses of power
 - c. magisterial functions
 - d. legislative role
5. The Supreme Court decision in Curtiss-Wright (1936) upheld strong presidential authority over
 - a. foreign policy
 - b. domestic policy
 - c. budget
 - d. appointments

6. The president's influence over his party includes selecting
- a. the party chairman
 - b. Congressional candidates
 - c. state officials
 - d. precinct workers
7. The central presidential staff agency which advises the president about hundreds of government agencies is the
- a. Office of Oversight and Investigation
 - b. CIA
 - c. Office of Management and Budget
 - d. GAO
8. According to James David Barber, we should be most concerned with a presidential candidate's
- a. stand on the issues
 - b. knowledge and past political experiences
 - c. character
 - d. television image
9. According to Barber, the worst type of presidential character is
- a. active-positive
 - b. active-negative
 - c. passive-positive
 - d. passive-negative
10. The following persisting paradoxes of the American presidency are true except that a president should be
- a. programmatic, but a pragmatic and flexible leader
 - b. a common man who can give an uncommon performance
 - c. a man who delivers more than he promises
 - d. above politics, yet a skilled political coalition builder

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To examine the president's constitutional position

1. Rather than having a complete separation of powers, we actually have an _____ of powers
2. The president's power is limited by a system of _____ and _____
3. The dimensions of presidential power at any given moment are a consequence of the incumbent's _____ and _____

Knowledge Objective: To analyze symbolic leadership

4. In accounting for the growth of the presidency, many blame _____ for delegating too much power

5. The president has greatest inherent power in matters involving _____ affairs and national security
6. The president's power has been greatly increased by the mass media, especially _____
7. The swelling of the presidency in part results from the _____ expectations
8. The president must obey the _____ like everyone else
9. An aftermath of Watergate is a lingering _____ of the scope and nature of presidential powers
10. Americans tend to emphasize _____ as the characteristic most needed by presidents

Knowledge Objective: To analyze the president's role as a crisis manager

11. The eruption of Mt. St. Helens and the Three Mile Island incident are examples of situations that require presidential _____ management
12. In acting for all of the people the president is a symbolic leader and _____ of state
13. The Supreme Court in the Curtiss-Wright case decided that the president _____ (did/did not) have exclusive powers in the field of international relations

Knowledge Objective: To examine the president's role as a recruiter and priority setter

14. Since presidents must appoint over 5000 top officials, one of the chief presidential duties is _____
15. For economic policy the president depends on the Secretary of the Treasury, the Director of OBM and the _____
16. A president who is a successful leader knows where the _____ are
17. The president has two major sources of political influence, the _____ and his _____
18. With the advent of _____, the White House has become an electronic throne
19. Presidential candidates depend less on the organized _____ than on their personal political organization

Knowledge Objective: To analyze the presidential establishment

20. In recent years presidents have come to rely heavily on their personal _____
21. The office of the _____ continues to be the central presidential staff agency
22. The most prominent and controversial component in the Executive Office is the _____ office
23. Presidents seldom turn to the _____ as a collective body for advice
24. The vice-president serves as president of the _____
25. The number of our presidents who were once vice-presidents is approximately one- _____

Knowledge Objective: To consider how to make the presidency safe for democracy

26. The theory which holds that a president in emergencies may act with discretion for the public good is called _____ theory
27. James David Barber believes that we should pay more attention to a president's _____ than any other quality
28. According to Barber, the people best suited for the presidency are _____ positive types
29. To make the presidency safe for democracy we should revitalize _____

POSTTEST

1. The American public today gives priority to one aspect of the presidency
 - a. leadership
 - b. honesty
 - c. wisdom
 - d. policy positions
2. In the aftermath of Watergate the public today favors
 - a. a strong presidency
 - b. many more checks on the presidency
 - c. changing impeachment procedures
 - d. making Congress the dominant branch
3. The trend in national policy making is towards greater

3. The trend in national policy making is towards greater
- a. centralization
 - b. decentralization
 - c. socialization
 - d. politicalization
4. Presidents have the most leeway in
- a. foreign and military affairs
 - b. domestic appropriation matters
 - c. budget appropriations
 - d. social policy
5. Often a president's "new initiatives" in domestic policy are
- a. highly creative
 - b. previously considered in Congress
 - c. previously thought of by past presidents
 - d. a response to grassroots demands
6. The functions of the White House staff include all but
- a. domestic policy
 - b. economic policy
 - c. congressional relations
 - d. intelligence operations
7. If the president is to be a successful politician he must be able to
- a. give commands
 - b. manage conflict
 - c. stand on principle
 - d. rise above politics
8. Modern presidential cabinets as a collective body have been used by presidents
- a. as high level advisers
 - b. to create a quasi-parliamentary system
 - c. very infrequently
 - d. to assess new policy proposals
9. The vice president has not been used by modern presidents to
- a. chair advisory councils
 - b. execute day to day policy
 - c. undertake good will missions
 - d. serve as a senior advisor
10. The Watergate experience seems to indicate that we should increase the power and effectiveness of all of the following except the
- a. vice president
 - b. courts
 - c. political parties
 - d. Congress

KEY CONCEPTS

<u>Justify:</u>	Why the power to persuade is more important than the power to command in the presidency
<u>Illustrate:</u>	How the president can reach the people, and why public opinion is so important
<u>Outline:</u>	The principal offices and roles of the Executive Office of the President
<u>Indicate:</u>	The functions of the White House Office and who comprises it
<u>Explain:</u>	The factors that can and have increased presidential power (include Congress, crises, television, and federal programs)
<u>Explain:</u>	Why the president should not be above the law
<u>Illustrate:</u>	How the president is a symbolic leader
<u>Define:</u>	What is meant by Barber's active-positive presidential character type
<u>Resolve:</u>	(If you can) the paradoxes of public expectations for the presidency

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. d
2. b
3. c
4. a
5. a
6. a
7. c
8. c
9. b
10. c

Programmed Review:

1. intermingling
2. checks; balances
3. character; energy
4. Congress
5. foreign

6. television
7. public's
8. law
9. suspicion
10. leadership
11. crisis
12. chief
13. did
14. recruitment
15. Council of Economic Advisors
16. followers
17. media; political party
18. television
19. party
20. staff
21. Management and Budget
22. White House
23. cabinet
24. Senate
25. third
26. prerogative
27. character
28. active
29. political institutions

Posttest:

1. a
2. a
3. a
4. a
5. b
6. d
7. b
8. c
9. b
10. a

Chapter 15

Congress vs. president: the continuing struggle

In reviewing congressional-presidential relations, we consider: the impact of Watergate, the imperial presidency, presidential secrecy and executive privilege, policy impoundment, and government by presidential veto. We also examine the reassertion of Congress, curbing emergency powers, overseeing executive agreements, monitoring the intelligence agencies, budget control and impoundment, confirmation politics, legislative veto, and other successful and unsuccessful actions. Then we look at reassertion proposals, restoring balance or overreaction, the dangers of an impaired presidency, and the case for an even more assertive Congress.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. CHANGING ROLE OF CONGRESS: FROM RESPONDING TO PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP TO CURBING PRESIDENTIAL POWERS?
- II. CHECKS AND BALANCES: OLD MODEL, NEW TESTS
 - A. Powers not defined in Constitution accrue in presidency
 - B. Until 1970's, Americans tended to favor expansion of presidential power
 - C. Watergate and Vietnam: presidency perceived as isolated, autocratic, and imperial
 - D. Congressional reassertion: reclaiming policy-making powers

III. IMPERIAL PRESIDENCY

- A. Ambiguity of president's power
 - 1. Usurpation of power in wartime: Lincoln, Truman, F. D. R
 - 2. Abuse of power in peacetime: Johnson, Nixon
- B. Evolution of secrecy as a weapon
- C. Congress has constitutional power to declare war, but actual fighting initiated by president
- D. Abuse of power under emergency laws: detention of Japanese during World War II, bombings of Cambodia, domestic surveillance
- E. Executive agreements: president may make agreements with foreign nations that have treaty status
- F. Executive privilege: power to withhold information
 - 1. Need for executive secrecy v. Congress' need to know
 - 2. 1974 Supreme Court: executive privilege subject to judicial scrutiny
- G. Impoundment: allows president to withhold funds appropriated by Congress
- H. Veto: negative weapon of limited use to president with positive program
 - 1. Extension vetoes: Nixon, 43 vetoes; Ford 69 vetoes
 - 2. Congress has little power over presidential veto

IV. CONGRESS REASSERTS ITSELF: EVIDENCE SINCE WATERGATE

- A. War Powers Resolution of 1973: attempt by Congress to control president's unlimited discretion to engage American troops
- B. National Emergencies Act of 1976: emergency powers to be utilized only when legitimate emergencies exist
- C. Creation of select committee on intelligence: legislative and budgetary authority of CIA and other intelligence agencies
- D. Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974: congressional participation in fiscal and spending policy
- E. Reassertion of congressional confirmation powers: tougher standards
- F. Legislative veto: concurrent resolutions giving Congress control of administration of federal programs by executive branch
- G. Problem of maintaining democratic controls over foreign and military policy in the nuclear age: executive secrecy

V. RESTORING THE BALANCE OF OVERREACTION?

- A. Restrengthen the Presidency?
- B. A more assertive Congress?
- C. Presidential influence on Congress
- D. The path ahead: President and Congress during the 1980's

PRETEST

1. In comparing powers granted by the Constitution to the President and to Congress, the following generalization is true
 - a. Both are described in vague terms
 - b. Congressional powers are detailed: Presidential powers are vague
 - c. Presidential power is detailed; Congressional power is vague
 - d. both are described in detail
2. Extraconstitutional powers include all of the following except
 - a. implied
 - b. inherent
 - c. residual
 - d. unrestricted
3. Critics assert that the presidency became imperial because of the ambiguity of his
 - a. power in domestic affairs
 - b. power as national party leader
 - c. power as commander-in-chief
 - d. leadership of the free world
4. Nixon became the first president in our history to establish an extralegal investigative force. It was the
 - a. Bloodhounds
 - b. Plumbers
 - c. Flyers
 - d. Tinkers
5. The Johnson-Nixon experience as war presidents seems to demonstrate that the public and Congress at the outset of a war are apt to be
 - a. apathetic
 - b. bitterly opposed
 - c. highly supportive
 - d. very skeptical
6. The President enters into secret foreign arrangements without Congressional approval by means of
 - a. inherent powers
 - b. CIA protocol
 - c. executive agreements
 - d. UN Security resolutions
7. Action of an executive in refusing to spend appropriated funds is called
 - a. emergency loan
 - b. executive finance
 - c. pecuniary containment
 - d. impoundment
8. Under the War Powers Resolution of 1973, the president may commit the armed forces except

- a. after a declaration of war by Congress
 - b. by specific statutory authorization
 - c. by a majority consensus of the nation's electorate
 - d. in certain states of national emergency
9. The act that was designed to encourage Congress to evaluate the nation's fiscal situation and program-spending priorities in a comprehensive way is
- a. The National Fiscal Act
 - b. The Congressional Appropriations Act
 - c. The Congressional Budget
 - d. The Congressional Financial and Administrative Control Act
10. A legislative veto is used by Congress to
- a. block a law signed by the President
 - b. delegate power and then review the results
 - c. to prevent the House from overriding the Senate
 - d. to force Congressional unanimity

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To examine the role of Congress within a system of checks and balances

- 1. Especially since _____, Congress feels that it should reassert its constitutional role in government
- 2. The president's authority to send troops to battle zones is based on _____ power
- 3. Abraham Lincoln's wartime initiatives while Congress was not in session were based on _____ power
- 4. For much of the twentieth century, scholars held that we needed a _____ presidency to overcome the fragmentation of power

Knowledge Objective: To analyze the argument over the imperial presidency

- 5. Imperial presidency theorists, such as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., contend that although some presidents have exercised enormous power in wartime, Johnson and Nixon abused power in _____
- 6. Schlesinger contends that under Nixon the presidency became not only imperial but also _____

7. In 1964 President Johnson succeeded in getting the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution passed on the basis of _____ information
8. A secret air war in _____ was waged in 1969 and 1970 with no formal congressional knowledge
9. Abuses of presidential power under the vast emergency laws have included the detention of citizens of _____ during World War II
10. In an emergency, the president's power to control all transportation and communication is based on previous _____ passed by Congress
11. Executive agreements permit a president to enter into secret agreements with a foreign nation _____ (with/without) Senate approval
12. The _____ Amendment introduced in the 1950's would have required Congress to approve all executive agreements
13. Several presidents have invoked executive _____ to withhold information from Congress
14. Using the concept of _____ President Nixon refused to spend \$18 billion appropriated from Congress
15. Members of Congress complain that by refusing to spend funds, the executive is in effect exercising an item _____
16. Approximately _____ percent of presidential vetoes have been overridden
17. Congress can often pass controversial items by attaching _____ to needed legislation

Knowledge Objective: To understand the idea of Congress reasserting itself

18. The War Powers Resolution of 1973 reflects the determination by Congress to control the president's formerly unlimited discretion to use _____ abroad
19. A recent test of the War Powers Resolution occurred when President Ford sent the Marines to free the crew of the _____
20. The National Emergency Act of 1976 _____ (ends/extends) the extensive powers possessed by the presidency as a result of the nation's continuing state of emergency
21. In 1976, Congress declared that a state of _____ would automatically end after six months

22. Congress has stipulated that the CIA was not to engage in any police work or to perform operations _____ (within/outside) the United States
23. In an unprecedented exercise of power in 1976, Congress amended the defense bill to _____ (authorize/end) covert intervention in Angola
24. The Budget and Control Act was designed, among other things, to encourage _____ to make its own budget
25. Since Watergate, the Senate has taken a tougher stand on confirming presidential _____
26. The seeking of approval by a president from Senators who are members of his party on federal appointments in their states is known as senatorial _____
27. _____ resolutions, in contrast to joint resolutions, do not have to be submitted to the president
28. The _____ veto was used by Congress to block presidential action

Knowledge Objective: To review the search for a proper balance between Congressional and Presidential power

30. By 1980 the American people quite clearly _____ (did/did not) want strong, purposeful leadership
31. Most scholars believe that Congress _____ (can/cannot) furnish the necessary leadership
32. Recently President _____ has been criticized as being too diffident and humble
33. On balance the president's position in dealing with Congress is relatively _____ (strong/weak)

POSTTEST

1. Historically, the main role of Congress has been to
 - a. check presidential power
 - b. respond to presidential leadership
 - c. delegate power among its own committees
 - d. all of these

2. Scholars who support a strong presidency believe all of the following except that presidents
 - a. have undefined power to promote the national well-being
 - b. are not limited by the expressed powers spelled out in the constitution
 - c. have extraconstitutional powers
 - d. have unlimited powers

3. For much of the twentieth century, scholars held that
 - a. we needed a stronger Congress
 - b. we needed to enlarge the number of Supreme Court justices
 - c. we needed a powerful presidency
 - d. all of these

4. Once a state of emergency has been declared, a president may
 - a. seize property
 - b. assign military forces abroad
 - c. institute martial law
 - d. all of these

5. Congress and the courts have conceded that a president does have the right to withhold certain types of information when it is vital to
 - a. national diplomacy
 - b. treaty agreements
 - c. national security
 - d. national prosperity

6. The president who impounded billions of dollars of funds appropriated by Congress was
 - a. Johnson
 - b. Nixon
 - c. FDR
 - d. Ford

7. All of the following are true about presidential vetoes except that
 - a. a president can veto a bill by returning it unsigned with his objections
 - b. if the president does not sign or veto the bill within five weekdays it becomes law without his signature
 - c. if Congress adjourns within ten weekdays, the president, by taking no action can kill the bill
 - d. a president may threaten to veto a measure

8. The president does not have the power of
- a. pocket veto
 - b. executive agreement
 - c. item veto
 - d. executive privilege
9. From 1947 to the mid-1970's, no area of national policy making was more removed from congressional oversight than
- a. Department of State
 - b. CMB
 - c. CIA
 - d. NSC
10. Critics of the legislative veto cite all of the following arguments except
- a. it gives lobbyists more influence
 - b. it violates the separation of powers
 - c. it does not present the president with legislation that he can veto
 - d. it is unimportant and seldom used

KEY CONCEPTS

- Explain: "Checks and balances; old models and new tests"
- Discuss: The impact of Watergate on both Congress and the presidency
- Analyze: The imperial presidency argument
- Explain: How the president acquired so many emergency powers
- Discuss: Diplomacy by executive agreement
- Analyze: The argument for executive privilege
- Explain: The Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974
- Illustrate: Confirmation politics and the congressional veto
- Defend: The statement that "The office of the presidency has been impaired by recent events"
- Discuss: The case for an even more assertive Congress

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. b
2. d
3. c
4. b
5. c
6. c
7. d
8. c
9. d
10. b

Programmed Review:

1. Watergate
2. implied
3. implied
4. powerful
5. peacetime
6. revolutionary
7. misleading
8. Cambodia
9. Japanese ancestry
10. laws
11. without
12. Bricker
13. privilege
14. impoundment
15. veto
16. three
17. riders
18. troops
19. Mayaguez
20. ends
21. emergency
22. within
23. end
24. Congress
25. appointees
26. courtesy
27. concurrent
28. legislative
29. powers
30. did
31. cannot
32. Carter
33. weak

Posttest:

1. b
2. d
3. c
4. d
5. c
6. b
7. b
8. c
9. c
10. d

Chapter 16

Judges: the balancing branch

American judges play an active role in our political life, although they are less frequently in the headlines than the president or Congress. In this chapter we focus on the national judicial system. Major attention is directed toward the organization, history, and procedures of the Supreme Court.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. THE LAW

- A. Types of law: statutory, common, civil, equity, constitutional admiralty, administrative, criminal
- B. Scope of judicial power
- C. How judges make law: interpretation and application
- D. The rule of precedent (stare decisis)

II. THE SHAPE OF FEDERAL JUSTICE

- A. District courts (91): original jurisdiction
- B. Courts of appeal (11): review of decisions
- C. Supreme Court: original and appellate jurisdiction
- D. Special courts
- E. Federal prosecutors (Department of Justice employees representing the U.S. government)
- F. Reforming the federal judicial system (the Burger proposals)
- G. Government Ethics Act (1978)

III. WHO ARE THE JUDGES?

- A. Selection process participants: Senate, American Bar Association, political parties, president, Department of Justice
- B. The importance of ideology
- C. The role of nominating commissions
- D. A profile of Supreme Court History

IV. HOW THE SUPREME COURT OPERATES

- A. What cases reach the court
- B. Briefs and oral argument
- C. The conference
- D. Writing opinions
- E. Opinions as judicial strategy
- F. Powers of the Chief Justice
- G. Enforcing the Court's decision

V. JUDICIAL POWER IN A DEMOCRACY

- A. The people and the courts
- B. The guardian ethic

PRETEST

1. Procedure in the Supreme Court is surrounded by considerable ceremony. All but one of the following procedures is customary
 - a. the justices are always attired in their robes of office
 - b. government attorneys wear morning clothes
 - c. all judges are seated in alphabetical order
 - d. all judges are introduced by the Clerk of the Court
2. The chief basis for judicial decisions is probably
 - a. precedent
 - b. public opinion
 - c. the party in power
 - d. checks and balances
3. The judicial doctrine of stare decisis provides that the courts decide cases largely on the basis of
 - a. present economic and social conditions
 - b. earlier court decisions
 - c. interpreting the will of Congress
 - d. equity
4. Federal courts of appeal have
 - a. original jurisdiction
 - b. grand juries
 - c. three-judge panels
 - d. judges with ten-year terms

5. No decision can be rendered by the Supreme Court unless
- a. all nine judges participate
 - b. a quorum of five is present
 - c. six judges participate
 - d. at least two judges represent majority opinion
6. At the Friday conference of Supreme Court justices, all but one of the following is true
- a. The Chief Justice presides
 - b. The Chief Justice votes first
 - c. Each justice carries a locked leather book
 - d. A majority decides the case
7. The powers of the Chief Justice include all but one of the following
- a. presiding over the Court
 - b. choosing the opinion writer if he himself has voted with the majority
 - c. barring dissenting justices from the Friday conference
 - d. leading conference discussion
8. The "rule of four" in Supreme Court procedure provides that four judges
- a. may adjourn the Court
 - b. grant a writ of Certiorari
 - c. give priority to the order of hearing a case
 - d. are a quorum
9. Critics of judicial activism believe that the courts should not try to make policy because
- a. judges are not elected
 - b. they do not represent all regions of the country
 - c. their terms do not coincide with that of the president
 - d. they do not have the necessary expertise
10. Attempts to reform the federal judiciary have emphasized one of the following
- a. recruiting better-qualified judges
 - b. disciplining inefficient judges
 - c. improving administrative court procedures
 - d. ending the appellate jurisdiction of district courts

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To describe the differing forms of law on which the American legal system is based

1. Law based on judicial decisions or medieval English judges is _____ law
2. Law based on judicial interpretations of the Constitution is _____ law
3. A specific act of a legislative body is _____ law
4. Law based on exceptions from the common law in the interests of justice is _____ law
5. The code of law emerging from bureaucratic decisions is _____ law
6. The rule of precedent under which federal courts operate is called _____
7. The concept that the courts should serve as a neutral referee between two contending parties is called the _____ system

Knowledge Objective: To get an overview of the organization of the federal court system

8. The lowest federal courts, in which 403 judges preside, are _____ courts
9. The federal courts that review district court decisions are _____ courts _____
10. The highest federal court, with both original and appellate jurisdiction, is the _____
11. The right to review cases already considered is _____
12. The top U.S. prosecutor is the _____
13. The chief spokesman for reform of the federal judicial system has been Chief Justice _____
14. Much of the lower level judicial work of the U.S. district is now carried out by _____
15. A great deal of the demand for reform of the U.S. judicial system is prompted by the increasing _____ of the courts

Knowledge Objective: To study the major participants involved in selection of federal judges

16. The custom that requires the president to consult with a state's senators before nominating a federal judge is called _____
17. All potential nominees for federal judgeships are _____ by the American Bar Association
18. A Democratic president will seldom appoint a federal judge who belongs to the _____ party
19. In naming federal judges, the political affiliation of the nominee may be less important than the person's _____
20. President Carter has created a nominating commission to emphasize the concept of _____ in selecting federal judges

Knowledge Objective: To discover how the Supreme Court operates

21. A behind-the-scenes report on the operation of the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Burger is a recent book, _____
22. The only cases heard by the Supreme Court are those selected by the _____
23. Cases previously decided by lower courts are called up to the Supreme Court by writs of _____
24. The normal upper time limit granted to counsel for each side in arguing a Supreme Court case is _____
25. Supreme Court decisions are made in secret each week at the _____
26. One use of published Supreme Court _____ is to communicate with the general public

Knowledge Objective: To evaluate the role of judicial review in a democratic society

27. Over the past forty years more than 500 acts of _____ and _____ have been invalidated by the Supreme Court
28. When the Supreme Court becomes greatly involved in political life, it is known as an _____ court
29. Critics who believe that the Supreme Court has become too activist charge it with engaging in _____

30. Mr. Dooley declared that the Supreme Court reflected public opinion because it followed the _____ returns
31. Those who charge that the Supreme Court has become too activist and intrusive say that it is dominated by a _____ ethic

POSTTEST

1. Under the guardian ethic, the group that supposedly would receive the greatest benefit would be
 - a. the poor
 - b. property owners
 - c. state officials
 - d. military officers
2. The federal court that has only original jurisdiction is
 - a. the Supreme Court
 - b. district courts
 - c. courts of appeal
 - d. lower courts
3. An adversary system of justice is one in which
 - a. the police bring charges
 - b. the court is a neutral referee
 - c. judges are political appointees
 - d. justice is based on majority vote
4. The top national official who has expressed great concern over the judicial selection process is
 - a. Carter
 - b. Burger
 - c. Ford
 - d. Mitchell
5. The law that has evolved from decisions interpreting our basic national governing document is
 - a. constitutional law
 - b. administrative law
 - c. equity law
 - d. statutory law
6. Several justices have timed their retirement to
 - a. ensure a replacement by a president sharing their views
 - b. increase their retirement benefits
 - c. bring fresh ideas to the Court
 - d. avoid ruling on an issue where they have no competence
7. Elections eventually influence Supreme Court decisions because
 - a. the judges try to do what the people want
 - b. judges who are out of step are impeached
 - c. new judges are appointed
 - d. interest groups influence decisions

8. In federal courts, justifiable disputes are
 - a. all constitutional questions
 - b. questions involving substantial equity
 - c. all administrative decisions
 - d. those involving equity

9. Only one of the following cases would be tried in a state court
 - a. a state is a party to the case
 - b. the U. S. is a party to the case
 - c. a foreign ambassador is a party to the case
 - d. citizens of different states are a party to a case involving less than \$10,000

10. If a Supreme Court justice agrees with the majority decision but differs on the reasoning, he files
 - a. a concurring opinion
 - b. a dissenting opinion
 - c. articles of agreement
 - d. a minority opinion

KEY CONCEPTS

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| <u>Identify:</u> | Six different categories of the law applied by the federal courts |
| <u>Explain:</u> | The adversary system |
| <u>Describe:</u> | How judges make law |
| <u>Define:</u> | <u>Stare decisis</u> and describe how it determines judicial decisions |
| <u>Differentiate:</u> | Between district courts and courts of appeal |
| <u>Describe:</u> | The job of a federal prosecutor |
| <u>Explain:</u> | How Chief Justice Warren Burger proposes to reform the federal court system |
| <u>Discuss:</u> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. The selection of federal judges is a bargaining process b. The Carter proposal for selecting federal judges will make them less responsive to the popular will |
| <u>Construct:</u> | A step-by-step account of how a typical case might move through the federal court system, including the processing of the case by the Supreme Court |

Explain: The guardian ethic and the two extreme criticisms leveled against this judicial philosophy

Explain: The chief purpose of the Government Ethics Act (1978)

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. c
2. a
3. b
4. c
5. c
6. b
7. c
8. b
9. a
10. d

Programmed Review:

1. common
2. constitutional
3. statutory
4. equity
5. administrative
6. stare decisis
7. adversary
8. district
9. circuit; of appeal
10. Supreme Court
11. Appellate jurisdiction
12. Attorney General
13. Burger
14. magistrates
15. work load
16. senatorial courtesy
17. evaluated
18. Republican
19. ideology
20. merit
21. The Brethren
22. Supreme Court
23. certiorari
24. one hour
25. Friday conference
26. opinions

- 27. legislatures; city councils
- 28. activist
- 29. judicial legislation
- 30. election
- 31. guardian

Posttest:

- 1. a
- 2. b
- 3. b
- 4. a
- 5. a
- 6. a
- 7. c
- 8. b
- 9. d
- 10. a

Chapter 17

Bureaucrats: the real power?

Most activities of the federal government are carried out by bureaucrats. Hence the selection, organization, and control of these people is a central issue of government that we study in this chapter. Today most elected officials join the public in being critical of the bureaucrats and bureaucracy; recent presidents have promised reform by way of sunset laws, zero-based budgeting, and other strategies.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. THE SHAPE OF THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY
 - A. The bureaucrats (3 million civilians, widely dispersed)
 - B. Formal organization arranged by function:
 - C. Informal organization based on personal relationships
- II. CRITICISMS OF BUREAUCRACY
 - A. Widespread cultural hostility
 - B. Major criticisms: mushrooming growth; red tape limits discretion and encourages inaction
 - C. The basic question: control and discipline
- III. THE U.S. CIVIL SERVICE
 - A. Merit system
 - B. Hatch Act and political activity

IV. BUREAUCRACY IN ACTION

- A. Classical model: rationality
- B. "Real" model: political implications
- C. Illustrative case studies: J. Edgar Hoover, Admiral Rickover, George Brown

V. CONTROLLING THE BUREAUCRATS

- A. Shared control: president, Congress, courts
- B. Carter proposals and failures: zero-based budgeting, sunset laws
- C. Incrementalism (theory that agencies respond gradually to shifting demands)
- D. Congressional attempts at control

PRETEST

1. Depending on the observer, red tape can be described in all but one of the following ways
 - a. senseless regulations that prevent prompt action
 - b. civil service employees who serve under the merit system
 - c. an established procedure for a particular operation
 - d. a bureaucracy that is more interested in means than ends
2. Almost half of all civilian employees of the federal government work for
 - a. defense agencies
 - b. the Social Security Administration
 - c. welfare agencies
 - d. the Interstate Commerce Commission
3. Most independent agencies of government are created by
 - a. the president
 - b. Congress
 - c. the cabinet
 - d. the Domestic Council
4. An example of a government corporation is
 - a. the Securities and Exchange Commission
 - b. The U. S. Mint
 - c. the Government Printing Office
 - d. the Tennessee Valley Authority
5. The independent regulatory boards have all but one of these special characteristics

- a. they do not report directly to the president
 - b. they perform legislative functions
 - c. their members are political appointees whose terms coincide with the president's
 - d. they have judicial functions
- 6. A landmark law creating a merit system of civil service was the congressional act named for its sponsor
 - a. Garfield
 - b. Sedman
 - c. Pendleton
 - d. Hatch
- 7. The OPM plays all but one of the following roles in recruiting new civil service employees
 - a. administers and scores tests
 - b. designates the individual an agency must hire
 - c. creates a ranked register of successful applicants
 - d. certifies three names for each agency vacancy
- 8. President Nixon attempted to change the administrative structure so that
 - a. each agency had greater freedom
 - b. agency recruiters could hire outside the Civil Service Commission
 - c. it would reflect broad national goals
 - d. taxes were cut by elimination of agencies
- 9. The classical model of public administration theory emphasized all but one of the following
 - a. friendship patterns
 - b. line and staff
 - c. chain of command
 - d. span of control
- 10. Incrementalism as a public administration theory emphasizes
 - a. merit increases
 - b. annual raises
 - c. rational long-range plans
 - d. slow, piecemeal adjustment

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To examine the shape of federal bureaucracy

- 1. Bureaucrats are accused of being inefficient and too _____ at the same time
- 2. Nearly _____ of all federal civilian employees work for the defense agencies

3. Over 85 percent of the bureaucrats work _____ the Washington area
4. Most federal employees are _____ collar workers
5. The _____ level of bureaucracy has grown the least in the past twenty years
6. Federal employees are _____ representative of the nation as a whole than legislators
7. The common basis for organization of a department is _____
8. An example of a government _____ is the Tennessee Valley Authority
9. _____ organization emphasizes structure; _____ organization emphasizes personal relationships

Knowledge Objective: To analyze the criticisms of bureaucracy

10. Most Americans support bureaucracy that operates in their interest while being critical of big bureaucracy in the _____
11. There are _____ federal civil servants per 1,000 Americans today than there were in 1946
12. The biggest growth of bureaucracy has occurred at the _____ and _____ level
13. The _____ of a federal agency is the _____ rather than the rule
14. One major problem of big government has been that _____ exceed performance
15. The complex rules and regulations under which bureaucracy functions is called _____

Knowledge Objective: To trace the evolution of the U.S. Civil Service

16. The _____ system permitted newly elected presidents to appoint their supporters
17. Restrictions on the political activities of federal employees were imposed by the _____ Act
18. Federal employees _____ (may/may not) take an active part in partisan politics

19. _____ was a noted German sociologist who advocated an efficient, nonpolitical bureaucracy
20. Under the "real bureaucracy" model, civil servants are involved in the _____ of policy

Knowledge Objective: To discover the controls under which bureaucrats operate

21. Major control of bureaucracy is shared by _____ and the _____
22. _____ budgeting requires each agency to justify and give a priority rating to each function
23. _____ laws authorize an agency to function for a set number of years
24. _____ is the theory that agencies evolve slowly through political experience
25. _____ is the executive office responsible for managing the federal bureaucracy

POSTTEST

1. The largest subunit of a government department is usually called a
- | | |
|-------------|---------------|
| a. bureau | c. commission |
| b. division | d. cabinet |
2. Using the choices (a) more or (b) less than, compare the federal bureaucracy today with that of thirty years ago on (1) expenditures as percentage of GNP; (2) number of civil servants per 1,000 Americans
3. The creation of new federal agencies is not encouraged by one of the following
- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| a. zero-based budgeting | c. election of a new president |
| b. excessive workloads in existing agencies | d. shifts in economic countries |
4. Only one of the following terms does not describe the same model of public administration
- | | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| a. textbook | c. classical |
| b. incremental | d. rational man |

5. An example of informal organization would be when a superior and his subordinates
 - a. hunt and fish together
 - b. confer over bureau policy
 - c. jointly evaluate employees for promotion
 - d. establish long-range budget plans
6. Who controls the bureaucracy?
 - a. the president
 - b. Congress
 - c. no single power source
 - d. the voters
7. Sunset laws are best defined as requirements that
 - a. all government meetings be public
 - b. bureaucrats must retire at sixty-five
 - c. all requests for information must be answered in 48 hours
 - d. all agencies must justify their existence every seven years
8. Zero-based budgeting requires every agency
 - a. to reduce its personnel by a fixed percentage
 - b. to justify its existence
 - c. to place its programs in priority order
 - d. to cut its budget requests
9. President Carter has not supported one of the following concepts
 - a. no new federal programs
 - b. zero-based budgeting
 - c. sunset laws
 - d. reorganization of existing departments
10. Congress normally controls the bureaucracy in all of the following ways except
 - a. budgetary appropriations
 - b. holding hearings
 - c. confirmation of personnel
 - d. firing civil servants

KEY CONCEPTS

- Construct: The personal profile of a typical bureaucrat
- Differentiate: Between formal and informal organization, with an example of each
- Evaluate: The common charges against bureaucrats
- Prove: That the federal bureaucracy is mushrooming or that it is a "no growth" area

<u>Discuss:</u>	The idea that we should abolish red tape and let bureaucrats make decisions based on good judgment
<u>Trace:</u>	Efforts to depoliticize the civil service
<u>Differentiate:</u>	Between the classical and real bureaucracy models
<u>Describe:</u>	How the careers of three federal bureaucrats illustrate realities of the bureaucratic world: J. Edgar Hoover, Hyman Rickover, George Brown
<u>Contrast:</u>	The ways in which Presidents Nixon and Carter proposed to make the bureaucracy more responsible

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. b
2. a
3. b
4. d
5. c
6. c
7. b
8. c
9. a
10. d

Programmed Review:

1. powerful
2. half
3. outside
4. white
5. federal
6. more
7. function
8. corporation
9. formal; informal
10. abstract
11. fewer
12. state; local
13. death; exception
14. promises
15. red tape
16. spoils
17. Hatch
18. may not
19. Max Weber

20. politics
21. Congress; President
22. zero-based
23. sunset
24. incrementalism
25. OMB

Posttest:

1. a
2. a, b
3. a
4. b
5. a
6. c
7. d
8. c
9. a
10. d

Chapter 18

Making public policy

In this chapter we pass beyond formal rules and institutions to the actual work of government -- making and executing public policy. How do new policy issues end up on the public agenda? How is policy made? Who are the players in this national policy contest?

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. THE NATURE OF POLICY MAKING

- A. Getting things done in Washington
- B. The role of expertise and staff
- C. Policy-making models
 - 1. Rational man model
 - 2. Power elite model
 - 3. Bureaucratic model
 - 4. Policy systems model
 - 5. Incrementalist model

II. POLICY FORMULATION

- A. Shared policy-making leadership
- B. The Issue-Attention Cycle

III. POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

IV. POLICY EVALUATION: EXECUTIVE AND CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT

V. IDEOLOGY AND PUBLIC POLICY

- A. Socialism
- B. Liberalism
- C. Conservatism
- D. Libertarianism

PRETEST

1. Policy change is normally begun by
 - a. reasonable people
 - b. political leaders
 - c. impatient outsiders
 - d. adaptable persons
2. The substance of what government does is called
 - a. lobbying
 - b. lawmaking
 - c. bargaining
 - d. public policy
3. National policy making is normally reported by the press as
 - a. a contest
 - b. a cooperative effort
 - c. content analysis
 - d. party program
4. Policy subsystems develop in Washington between political activists and
 - a. research institutes
 - b. lobbyists
 - c. the media
 - d. all of these
5. The passage by Congress of a clean air act is an example of
 - a. evaluation
 - b. implementation
 - c. adoption
 - d. formulation
6. The theory that we have a government of the rich, by friends of the rich, for the rich is
 - a. power elite
 - b. bureaucratic
 - c. rational man
 - d. policy systems
7. Policy-making leadership is best described as
 - a. shared
 - b. unilateral
 - c. concentrated
 - d. nonexistent
8. The part of the policy process that is most apt to be neglected is
 - a. identification
 - b. formulation
 - c. evaluation
 - d. adoption
9. In the past our political policy making has resulted from
 - a. coalitions
 - b. ideology
 - c. party loyalty
 - d. majority rule

10. The ideology that favors the repeal of laws governing personal morality is
- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| a. conservatism | c. liberalism |
| b. socialism | d. libertarianism |

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To examine the nature of policy making

1. Policy change often has as its instigator _____
2. The making of public policy is normally reported by the media as a _____
3. The major link between Congress, the executive, and interest groups is _____
4. One outstanding characteristic of staff specialists in Washington is their _____
5. Information and energy are more important characteristics of political activists than _____ or _____
6. There _____ (is/is not) an agreed-upon policy-making model
7. The first step in policy making is problem _____
8. The process during which alternative solutions to a policy problem are explored is called policy _____

Match the items in the left hand column with those on the right

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 9. All groups are out to protect their group interest | a. Incrementalism |
| 10. There is an American ruling class | b. Policy system |
| 11. Public policies are a result of internal government rivalries | c. Bureaucratic politics |
| 12. Emphasis on inputs and outputs | d. Rational man |
| 13. Piecemeal policy change | e. Power elite |

Knowledge Objective: To analyze policy formulation

14. Government inaction can be a policy Senator Patrick Moynihan called _____
15. If a group lacks funds and a political base, it may use _____

16. Groups capable of making large political contributions are apt to have the greatest influence with _____ and the _____
17. The president's ability to get things done is determined by his professional reputation as a _____
18. The span of the public's attention on most issues is very _____
19. Public boredom is a _____ force in policy making
20. Many well-intentioned programs break down during the _____ phase
21. Because most bureaus and agencies are seeking more funds and programs, they normally do a poor job of program _____
22. Program evaluation is primarily a _____ problem
23. Congress increasingly plays the dominant role in program _____

Knowledge Objective: To examine the conflicting ideological bases upon which public policy is built

24. Most American policy making _____ (does/does not) involve warring political ideologies
25. The role of ideology in policy making appears to be _____ (increasing/declining)
26. American socialists tend to emphasize _____ over property rights
27. The potential for personal perfectability _____ (is/is not) a central belief of liberalism
28. Conservatism favors a strong national _____
29. Those who favor the virtual elimination of most government services are called _____

POSTTEST

1. The total scope of government activity (argument, bargaining, force) is captured in the term
 - a. incrementalism
 - b. policy politics
 - c. lobbying
 - d. public policy
2. The behind-the-scenes people who draft most major bills are

- a. members of Congress
 - b. staff specialists
 - c. employees of private business
 - d. policy activists
3. Because staff specialists normally move about a great deal, they develop all of the following except
- a. friendships
 - b. influence
 - c. loyalties
 - d. enemies
4. The normal sequence of stages in the policy process is
- a. evaluation, implementation adoption
 - b. formulation, identification implementation
 - c. adoption, implementation, identification
 - d. identification, formulation, adoption
5. The policy model based on the assumption that all people try to analyze and protect their interests is
- a. rational man
 - b. power elite
 - c. bureaucratic
 - d. incrementalist
6. The policy systems model declares that
- a. everything is related to everything
 - b. policies result from group struggles
 - c. America has a ruling class
 - d. things happen gradually
7. Public policy is least affected by
- a. scholarly research
 - b. events
 - c. resources
 - d. past experience
8. The most difficult part of the policy process appears to be the problem of
- a. identification
 - b. evaluation
 - c. implementation
 - d. formulation
9. Congress sees its responsibility of legislative oversight as a
- a. low-priority item
 - b. top-priority item
 - c. political plan
 - d. rewarding assignment
10. The rank order of those who favor the most government to those who favor the least is

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. conservative, libertarian,
socialist, liberal | c. socialist, liberal,
conservative, libertarian |
| b. socialist, conservative,
liberal, libertarian | d. libertarian, liberal,
socialist, conservative |

KEY CONCEPTS

- Identify: The type of person apt to demand changes in public policy
- Explain: The importance of staff specialists in policy making
- List: Five steps in the policy process
- Differentiate: Among the five models that explain policy making
- Identify: The various groups involved in American policy making
- Indicate: Why implementation is such a critical stage of policy-making
- Discuss:
- The media plays a central role in the policy process
 - Boredom is a major factor in the policy process
 - Public interest groups are a constructive force in policy making
- Explain: How ideology affects public policy and the basic philosophical assumptions of each of these ideologies:
- socialism
 - liberalism
 - conservatism
 - libertarianism
- Describe: The politics of policy evaluation

ANSWERS

Pretest:

- c
- d
- a
- d
- c
- a
- a
- c

9. a
10. d

Programmed Review:

1. impatient outsiders
2. contest
3. senior committee staff
4. mobility
5. age; formal position
6. is not
7. identification
8. formulation
9. d
10. e
11. c
12. b
13. a
14. benign neglect
15. litigation
16. Congress; president
17. politician
18. short
19. major
20. implementation
21. evaluation
22. political
23. oversight
24. does not
25. increasing
26. equality
27. is
28. defense
29. libertarians

Posttest:

1. b
2. b
3. d
4. d
5. a
6. a
7. a
8. c
9. a
10. c

Chapter 19

Making foreign policy

As we see in this chapter, the making of foreign policy is quite different from coping with internal problems. For one thing, we have little control over some world developments, and can only react to them. Within the United States, the president has tended to dominate the foreign policy scene, with only limited participation by the general public, interest groups, political parties, and Congress. This fact may be viewed as either a strength or weakness.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS
 - A. Trade in a global world
 - B. Preservation of political values
- II. DEFINING AND DEFENDING OUR VITAL INTERESTS
 - A. Goals of American foreign policy
 - B. Historical overview of our objectives
 - 1. Vital interests (Monroe Doctrine; Persian Gulf)
 - 2. Moralistic interests (Korea and Vietnam)
 - 3. Soviet-U.S. relations: The Cold War and detente
 - C. The Contemporary World
 - 1. World-girdling military technology
 - 2. Economic interdependence
 - 3. Bipolarity versus multipolarity
 - 4. Relations with the Third and Fourth Worlds

III. THE POLITICS OF FOREIGN POLICY MAKING

- A. Basic components: public opinion; political parties; Congress
- B. Foreign policy and democracy

IV. POLICY MACHINERY

- A. Presidential decision making
 - 1. National security advisor
 - 2. Foreign policy staff
 - 3. Intelligence and the CIA
 - 4. National Security Council
- B. The Secretary of State
- C. Foreign service officers
- D. International Organizations and the UN

PRETEST

1. One of the following nations is not a major source of U. S. oil imports
 - a. Saudi Arabia
 - b. Mexico
 - c. Algeria
 - d. Ethiopia
2. The result of our foreign policy experience during the past ten years has made us
 - a. aggressive
 - b. economic imperialists
 - c. cautious
 - d. withdrawn
3. The major event that eroded public faith in the competence of the foreign policy establishment was the
 - a. Chilean revolution
 - b. Vietnam War
 - c. Bay of Pigs
 - d. Panama Canal controversy
4. In all nations, foreign policy making tends to be concentrated in
 - a. public opinion
 - b. the courts
 - c. Congress
 - d. the executive branch
5. The secretary of state is not responsible for
 - a. key statements on foreign policy
 - b. speaking before congressional committees
 - c. visiting foreign chiefs of state
 - d. deploying military forces

6. In the Carter Administration, the role of national foreign policy adviser was filled by
 - a. Vance
 - b. Kissinger
 - c. Brzezinski
 - d. Blumenthal
7. The chief reason for the political weakness of the UN is
 - a. U.S. -- USSR conflict
 - b. North (rich) v. South (poor)
 - c. lack of funding
 - d. the high world birth rate
8. Much of the criticism of the Foreign Service is summarized in the statement that there are no _____ Foreign Service officers
 - a. old
 - b. bold
 - c. old, bold
 - d. young, bold
9. The greatest checks on the president's foreign policy powers in recent years have come from
 - a. the state department
 - b. military advisors
 - c. Congress
 - d. the Foreign Policy Association
10. Public opinion has which effect on state department policy decisions
 - a. it determines the issues
 - b. it is highly unstable
 - c. it is largely ignored
 - d. it determines decisions

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To identify our vital interests

1. The chief objectives of U.S. foreign policy have been our national _____ and _____ well being
2. The most vital American import is _____
3. Controversy arises over whether we should _____ in the affairs of other nations to maintain our stability
4. The Truman Doctrine is an example of the _____ (moralist/realist) brand of foreign policy
5. Jimmy Carter proclaimed that access to oil from the _____ Gulf was one of our vital interests

Knowledge Objective: To trace the evolution of the Cold War

6. The dominant factor in U.S. foreign policy since 1945 has been the _____ War
7. Friction and tension between the USSR and the U.S. can be dated from the _____ in 1917
8. At the _____ Conference near the close of World War II the Soviet Union achieved a sphere of influence in Eastern Europe
9. The U.S. strategy to prevent additional Soviet expansion was called _____
10. The belief that the collapse of one of our allies would result in the fall of a whole series of other allies was called the _____ theory
11. U.S. troops fought Asian wars in _____ and _____ to carry out our policy of containment
12. During the Nixon administration a policy of cooperation, trade and arms limitation with the Soviet Union was known as _____

Knowledge Objective: To examine those factors in the contemporary world that will determine future U.S. foreign policy

13. The massive military technology of the U.S. and the USSR have created a balance of _____
14. _____ is a term that describes the emerging world order in which economic and military power are more widely dispersed
15. Nations that are so poverty-stricken that they cannot provide for their own people are known collectively as the _____ World

Knowledge Objective: To consider the politics of foreign policy making

16. The general public has _____ voice in directly determining foreign policy issues
17. Relationships between the state department and the press have traditionally been _____
18. The impact of interest groups on foreign policy appears to be _____ than on domestic policy
19. Since World War II, political parties have normally played a _____ role in foreign policy

20. In recent years, Congress has become more _____ on foreign policy
21. Mutual distrust between younger Americans and the so-called "foreign policy establishment" was a direct result of the _____ War

Knowledge Objective: To review the machinery of foreign policy

22. _____ domination of foreign policy has been consistent throughout American history
23. The influence of the secretary of state is dependent on the _____ personal desires
24. Recent presidents have depended heavily on such men as Rostow and Brzezinski, who held the office of _____ Adviser
25. Most foreign intelligence information comes from _____ sources
26. The most uncontrolled U.S. intelligence-gathering agency of the past thirty years has been the _____
27. The _____ attempts to integrate military and economic foreign policy

Knowledge Objective: To analyze the structure and role of the Department of State

28. In terms of personnel, the state department is both _____ and _____
29. The eyes and ears of the United States overseas is the American _____
30. Independent reporting in the state department is probably stifled chiefly by _____ rather than personnel

Knowledge Objective: To evaluate the role of the United Nations

31. The United Nations today is characterized by political _____
32. The UN appears to be most useful for diplomatic _____

POSTTEST

1. The international organization that fixes world oil prices is
- | | |
|-----------|----------|
| a. UN | c. OPEC |
| b. Aramco | d. OILCO |

2. Our basic goal in foreign policy has been
 - a. the four freedoms
 - b. national self-interest
 - c. self-determination for all people
 - d. spheres of influence
3. The area of the world that has an unhappy combination of rapidly rising population, poverty, and political instability is
 - a. Japan
 - b. Western Europe
 - c. Russia
 - d. Southern Hemisphere
4. Identify the unrelated agency
 - a. CIA
 - b. Secret Service
 - c. Defense Intelligence Agency
 - d. Bureau of Intelligence and Research
5. The Central Intelligence Agency has not been criticized for one of the following activities
 - a. Bay of Pigs invasion
 - b. keeping files on American citizens
 - c. coordinating information on foreign nations
 - d. overthrowing the Chilean government
6. The coordination of foreign policy is assumed by the
 - a. state department
 - b. National Security Council
 - c. Senate Foreign Relations Committee
 - d. Joint Chiefs of Staff
7. The greatest successes of the United Nations has been in
 - a. achieving world peace
 - b. promoting human rights
 - c. distributing scarce resources
 - d. operating technical programs
8. Which of the following terms is not commonly used to describe the state department?
 - a. Foggy Bottom
 - b. Iron Fist
 - c. Fudge Factory
 - d. Bowl of Jelly
9. Which of the following roles is not commonly assumed by the state department?

- a. establishing foreign governments that are friendly toward the United States
- b. informing the president of international developments
- c. delivering and receiving official communications with the United States
- d. clearing all statements and articles prepared by political and career officials

10. The role of political parties in foreign policy is best described in these terms

- a. They have little consistent influence
- b. They present the public with clear choices
- c. They seldom discuss foreign policy
- d. They seldom criticize the president in office

KEY CONCEPTS

Analyze: Five recent changes in the world order that affect our foreign policy

Describe: The end result of the Vietnam war on American foreign policy

Demonstrate: How the complex machinery of foreign policy (secretary of state, CIA, National Security Council) might function when faced with a new issue such as recognition of Castro's Cuba

Evaluate: The impact of public opinion on foreign policy

Discuss:

- a. The United Nations will never play a major role in world affairs until its present lopsided voting strength is restructured
- b. Foreign policy is best if it is bipartisan
- c. Congress can never hope to play an effective role in foreign policy development

ANSWERS

Pretest:

- 1. d
- 2. c
- 3. b
- 4. d
- 5. d
- 6. c
- 7. a
- 8. c

9. c
10. c

Programmed Review:

1. security; economic
2. oil
3. intervene
4. moralist
5. Persian
6. Cold
7. Russian Revolution
8. Yalta
9. containment
10. domino
11. Korea; Vietnam
12. detente
13. Terror
14. multipolarity
15. Fourth
16. little
17. hostile
18. less
19. bipartisan
20. assertive
21. Vietnam
22. presidential
23. president's
24. National Security
25. open
26. CIA
27. National Security Council
28. small; overstaffed
29. Foreign Service
30. structure
31. weakness
32. consultation

Posttest:

1. c
2. b
3. d
4. b
5. c
6. b
7. d
8. b
9. a
10. a

Chapter 20

Providing for the common defense

The security of the United States is dependent on a wise, long-range military policy. But most Americans view the military establishment with less than total enthusiasm: how much is enough is a never-ending question for which there is no certain answer. As we see in this chapter, two facts stand out. We are threatened by the military might of other powerful nations. Our democratic society has its own military-industrial complex. Defense-related expenses are a major part of our national budget. This chapter focuses on our defense establishment and its operations

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. THE POLITICS AND STRATEGY OF DEFENSE
 - A. Defense objectives
 - B. Controlling the defense budget
 - C. The military-industrial complex
 - D. Military personnel
 - E. Making defense policy: the B-1 bomber
- II. DEFENSE ORGANIZATION
 - A. The Department of Defense
 - B. Defense department issues
 - C. The joint chiefs of staff
- III. ARMS CONTROL
 - A. Non-Proliferation Treaty
 - B. SALT negotiations
- IV. SECURITY AND LIBERTY

PRETEST

1. In our all-volunteer armed forces there has been overrepresentation of
 - a. women
 - b. middle classes
 - c. minorities
 - d. college graduates
2. The decision maker of last resort in our military system is the
 - a. field commander
 - b. chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
 - c. President
 - d. head of NATO
3. Americans in the early 1980's seem to be more willing to
 - a. use ground forces overseas
 - b. use nuclear weapons for defense of our allies
 - c. spend more for defense
 - d. spend less for defense
4. The basic goal of our defense establishment is to
 - a. preserve U.S. independence
 - b. reduce nuclear war perils
 - c. resolve regional conflict
 - d. spread our values and institutions
5. The magnitude of the defense department does not include
 - a. employment of over half of government workers
 - b. 10 million people in uniform
 - c. biggest domestic purchaser
 - d. largest government purchaser
6. The so-called military-industrial complex
 - a. does not exist
 - b. is one elite among many
 - c. makes all military decisions
 - d. is a declining political force
7. Defenders of an all-volunteer armed force believe that its major recruitment problems would be solved by
 - a. raising military pay
 - b. cutting the number of recruits
 - c. raising educational standards
 - d. abolishing racial discrimination
8. Carter's refusal to fund the B-1 bomber is an example of which of these types of decisions
 - a. political
 - b. compromise
 - c. technical
 - d. crowd-pleasing

9. The Nonproliferation Treaty was concerned with the distribution of
 - a. nuclear weaponry to non-nuclear powers
 - b. germ warfare in the oceans
 - c. space vehicles as launching sites
 - d. nerve gas into the proliferating zones
10. Civilian control over the military does not include one of the following
 - a. election of commander in chief
 - b. commissioning of all officers by civilians
 - c. military strategy planned by civilians
 - d. military appropriations made by civilians

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To analyze the politics and strategy of defense

1. The overriding issue of American military policy is to _____ the United States
2. The belief that business and defense spokesmen now collaborate to encourage military spending is called a _____ complex
3. In recent years public support for more defense spending has _____ (declined/increased)
4. Cuts in defense spending are opposed by local _____ interests
5. Current trends suggest that the defense share of the national budget will _____ (increase/decrease) during the 1980's
6. Current estimates suggest that the United States is spending _____ (more/less) of its total GNP on defense than the Soviet Union
7. Since 1973 personnel for the armed forces of the United States has been provided by _____
8. Recent public opinion surveys indicate that a _____ (majority/minority) of Americans support a military draft
9. The volunteer army system has resulted in _____ (overrepresentation/underrepresentation) of minorities
10. Defenders of the volunteer system believe that it would work if more _____ were provided

11. Under current policy women are barred from a _____ role in the armed forces
12. If we assume that a military-industrial complex exists, it _____ on the B-1 bomber issue
13. In the B-1 bomber decision, President Carter acted most like a (n) _____

Knowledge Objective: To review the organization and operation of the Department of Defense

14. The headquarters of the Department of Defense is the _____
15. Under Presidents Nixon and Ford, the official who had the greatest voice in defense policy was _____
16. The greatest potential source of volunteer military personnel is _____
17. Many of the current rivalries that erupt among the joint chiefs of staff are a result of _____ rather than traditional service rivalries

Knowledge Objective: To examine the realities of arms control negotiations

18. Advocates of disarmament believe that the chief barrier to disarmament is _____ themselves
19. The test-ban treaty banned nuclear explosions in the _____
20. The _____ Treaty pledged the nuclear powers to prevent further spread of nuclear weapons
21. SALT II placed limits on nuclear weapons with multiple warheads known as _____
22. A new U.S. strategy would move _____ ballistic missiles from site to site
23. SALT II, if ratified, would have a _____ (minimal/miximum) impact on the arms race
24. Nations with a large military establishment normally experience an increase in _____ power
25. Our political system is designed to provide for _____ control over the military

POSTTEST

1. The SALT treaties with the Soviet Union were designed to
 - a. abolish nuclear weapons
 - b. give the U.S. a strategic advantage
 - c. give the USSR a strategic advantage
 - d. limit strategic arms
2. Women now make up _____ per cent of the armed forces
 - a. fifty
 - b. thirty-seven
 - c. one
 - d. eight
3. The headquarters of the Department of Defense is
 - a. the Oval Office
 - b. Ft. Myers
 - c. the Pentagon
 - d. Strategic Air Command
4. In recent years, the defense department has increased its
 - a. military personnel
 - b. total budget
 - c. U.S. troops overseas
 - d. fleet of navy ships
5. The central question involved in fixing defense budgets is
 - a. Will the taxpayer protest?
 - b. How much is enough?
 - c. Is it smaller than domestic spending?
 - d. Is it too great a percentage of GNP?
6. The number of Americans who feel we are spending too much for defense has _____ over the past ten years
 - a. declined
 - b. increased slightly
 - c. drastically increased
 - d. remained stable
7. The big advantage claimed for the B-1 bomber by its supporters was that it
 - a. would cut defense spending
 - b. could elude enemy radar
 - c. could carry heavy cargo
 - d. could transport an army regiment
8. The joint chiefs of staff are composed of
 - a. representatives of the four armed services
 - b. a joint U.S. Senate and House Committee
 - c. quasi-military organizations
 - d. the president's special aides

9. Per capita spending for defense is highest in which nation
- a. Japan
 - b. W. Germany
 - c. United States
 - d. Great Britain
10. Negotiations over SALT II were dropped by the United States after
- a. Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
 - b. our development of the MX missile
 - c. the resignation of Secretary of Defense Brown
 - d. the Soviets cut back their defense budget

KEY CONCEPTS

- Analyze: The current military strategy of the United States in event of a Russian attack
- Review: The U.S. public attitude toward the military budget, strategic weapons, military recruitment, and the military-industrial complex
- Examine: The B-1 bomber case study, indicating the role of military leaders, secretary of defense, Congress, industrial corporations, nongovernment experts, and the presidents
- Indicate: The scope of present limitations on nuclear weapons, and suggest the most probable direction of further limits
- Identify: The democratic dilemma posed by a large military establishment
- Discuss:
- a. Civilian leaders (McNamara and Brown) have handicapped the development of U.S. defense
 - b. The volunteer army can never provide for an adequate U.S. defense
 - c. The draft should be reinstated with no special exemptions for women

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. c
2. c
3. c
4. a
5. b
6. b
7. a
8. c
9. a
10. c

Programmed Review:

1. defend
2. military-industrial
3. increased
4. economic
5. increase
6. less
7. volunteers
8. majority
9. overrepresentation
10. money
11. combat
12. lost
13. engineer
14. Pentagon
15. Kissinger
16. women
17. technology
18. armaments
19. atmosphere
20. Non-Proliferation
21. MIRV's
22. MX
23. minimal
24. executive
25. civilian

Posttest:

1. d
2. d
3. c
4. b
5. b

- 6. a
- 7. b
- 8. a
- 9. c
- 10. a

Chapter 21

Government as regulator

Government regulation has dramatically increased in the past twenty years. Most Americans say that they oppose all regulation. But government seems to offer the only protection they have against a polluted environment, on-the-job dangers, and monopoly price-fixing. Our dilemma, then, is to maximize the benefits of regulation while minimizing its evils. As this chapter shows, the problem is a difficult one.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. THE REGULATORY IDEA
 - A. Recent rapid expansion
 - B. Reasons for regulation
- II. SOCIAL REGULATION
 - A. Techniques of regulation
 - B. Costs of regulation
 - C. Deregulation
- III. REGULATING THE ENVIRONMENT
 - A. Pollution control
 - B. Environmental Protection Agency
 - C. Nuclear energy problems
- IV. REGULATING BUSINESS
 - A. Antitrust policy (Sherman, Clayton Acts)
 - B. Controlling big business

- V. REGULATING LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS
 - A. Protecting workers
 - B. Protecting unions (Wagner Act)
 - C. Regulating unions (Taft-Hartley Act)
 - D. Occupational safety and health
 - 1. Creation of OSHA
 - 2. Objectives and criticisms

- VI. REGULATORY OUTCOMES AND ISSUES
 - A. Positive accomplishments
 - B. Criticisms
 - C. Deregulation debate

PRETEST

1. One of the following regulatory activities is not new
 - a. antitrust
 - b. pollution
 - c. hiring discrimination
 - d. industrial health
2. The alternative to regulation is
 - a. socialism
 - b. mercantilism
 - c. laissez faire
 - d. incrementalism
3. Regulation generally involves government's use of its
 - a. taxation power
 - b. general welfare power
 - c. police power
 - d. economic power
4. The basic law designed to control monopolies is the
 - a. Clayton Act
 - b. Taft-Hartley Act
 - c. Sherman Act
 - d. Wagner Act
5. The most common forms of business concentration today are
 - a. monopolies and conglomerates
 - b. conglomerates and natural monopolies
 - c. natural monopolies and oligopolies
 - d. oligopolies & conglomerates
6. Responsibility for protecting the free enterprise system against monopoly is assigned to which cabinet department?
 - a. Commerce
 - b. Justice
 - c. Treasury
 - d. Labor

7. Labor's basic struggle was over
 - a. the right to organize
 - b. minimum wages
 - c. health care benefits
 - d. pension payments
8. Most regulation of union activity is assigned to the
 - a. Federal Trade Commission
 - b. Antitrust Division of the Justice Department
 - c. National Labor Relations Board
 - d. Department of Labor
9. After a rather bad start, OSHA appears to be concentrating on
 - a. industrial accidents
 - b. fire prevention
 - c. sanitary facilities
 - d. health hazards
10. The final question in all debates over environmental pollution is
 - a. Do we want clean air?
 - b. What price will we pay?
 - c. Have you filed an environmental impact statement?
 - d. Will it create jobs?

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To examine the reasons for and trends in regulation

1. _____ is an economic market where power is concentrated in a few units
2. The aim of antitrust laws is to encourage _____
3. Electric utilities are an example of a _____ monopoly
4. Critics of regulation charge that it now results in _____ inflation, _____ productivity, and economic _____

Knowledge Objective: To evaluate efforts to achieve social regulation

5. _____ regulation attempts to provide clean air and consumer safety
6. Rather than aiming for absolute standards, most policy makers aim for regulation that is balanced against "reasonable" _____
7. Performance standards would shift the means of achieving required social goals from government to _____
8. The social costs of regulation are relatively _____ (difficult/easy) to establish

Knowledge Objective: To review the politics and technology of environmental pollution control

9. The most active pollution control effort is being made by the _____ level of government
10. The government has chosen a _____ approach to pollution
11. The _____ Agency is responsible for enforcement of antipollution laws
12. Most pollution arguments center around the issue of _____
13. The cost of cleaning up the environment will be borne chiefly by _____ sources
14. An environmental _____ statement must be filed for any new project using federal funds
15. The _____ in future pollution politics will probably be between cleanliness and cost
16. Automakers have secured deferrals of lower emission requirements to concentrate on greater _____ efficiency
17. The chief factors that have discouraged the construction of new nuclear power plants are _____ and the disposal of _____

Knowledge Objective: To trace government attempts to maintain business competition

18. Congress in 1890 attempted to curb monopolies by passing the _____ Act
19. Many antitrust suits are settled by _____ decrees
20. Today business concentration has been largely _____ (eliminated/unchanged)
21. Americans believe in business competition, but they also believe in _____

Knowledge Objective: To consider the major legislation affecting labor-management relations

22. Labor leaders generally _____ federal regulation
23. Most labor laws regulate the relationship of workers with _____
24. Labor unions since 1947 have attempted to repeal the _____ Act

25. Perhaps the most criticized of all federal regulatory agencies is _____
26. OSHA was established to reduce industrial _____
27. The "nitpicking" _____ of OSHA are the source of many complaints
28. A majority of industrial accidents occur in _____ business
29. Regulatory agencies are sometimes _____ by the industries that they regulate
30. The result of regulation has normally been to _____ (increase/decrease) prices
31. Regulation _____ (encourages/discourages) technological innovation
32. Deregulation of the airlines appears to have worked _____ (for/against) the public interest
33. Deregulation of railroads and trucks will probably result in _____ (higher/lower) rates

POSTTEST

1. Deregulation is either being implemented or seriously considered in all of the following areas except
 - a. drugs
 - b. railroads
 - c. airlines
 - d. trucks
2. Most regulatory agencies today combine the roles of all but one of the following
 - a. legislature
 - b. committee
 - c. judge
 - d. jury
3. Reasons for regulation do not include
 - a. curbing monopolies
 - b. compensating for imperfect markets
 - c. eliminating the "economically weak"
 - d. controlling natural monopolies
4. Our first efforts at regulation were intended to
 - a. encourage unions
 - b. preserve competitive markets
 - c. protect consumers
 - d. curb pollution

5. The end result of nearly a century of antitrust legislation is that
 - a. business concentration exists
 - b. monopolies are commonplace
 - c. business is widely dispersed
 - d. cutthroat competition is the norm
6. John Kenneth Galbraith argues that policy toward big business should be to
 - a. break up all oligopolies
 - b. encourage monopolies
 - c. subsidize exports
 - d. impose wage-price controls
7. The right to organize and bargain collectively was guaranteed by the _____ Act
 - a. Wagner
 - b. Sherman
 - c. Taft-Hartley
 - d. Walsh-Healey
8. The Taft-Hartley Act does not outlaw
 - a. the closed shop
 - b. the union shop
 - c. jurisdictional strikes
 - d. secondary boycotts
9. The basic criticism of OSHA appears to be that its regulations are too
 - a. lax
 - b. strict
 - c. trivial
 - d. general
10. The phrase that best describes the projected environmental policy of the 1980's is
 - a. tradeoffs
 - b. whitewash
 - c. effluent charges
 - d. escalating controls

KEY CONCEPTS

<u>Explain:</u>	Why we have government regulation
<u>Indicate:</u>	What economic developments brought about antitrust legislation
<u>Evaluate:</u>	The success of government attempts to regulate big business
<u>Identify:</u>	The restrictions placed on labor unions by the Taft-Hartley Act

- Define: The countervailing forces that limit pollution control
- Assess: The results of government regulation
- Discuss:
- a. OSHA deserves the heavy criticism it has received
 - b. Regulation normally increases consumer prices

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. a
2. c
3. c
4. c
5. d
6. b
7. a
8. c
9. d
10. b

Programmed Review:

1. oligopoly
2. competition
3. natural
4. higher; lower; stagnation
5. Social
6. costs
7. industry
8. difficult
9. National
10. regulatory
11. Environmental Protection
12. cost
13. private
14. impact
15. tradeoff
16. fuel
17. safety; waste disposal
18. Sherman
19. consent
20. unchanged
21. bigness
22. favor
23. employers
24. Taft-Hartley

25. OSHA
26. accidents
27. rules
28. small
29. captured
30. increase
31. discourages
32. for
33. higher

Posttest:

1. a
2. b
3. c
4. b
5. a
6. d
7. b
8. b
9. c
10. a

Chapter 22

Government as promoter: subsidies, security, and welfare

Government promotion touches every American, either directly or indirectly. By its promotional activities, government provides services for the common good that citizens cannot provide for themselves. The list includes prekindergarten education, mail delivery, oil stockpiles, weather reporting, medicare, and the purchase of surplus peanuts. Such programs, as we see in this chapter, are an expression of our social-economic policy.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. GOVERNMENT PROMOTION THROUGH SUBSIDIES
- II. BUSINESS POLICY
 - A. Department of Commerce
 - B. Small Business Administration
 - C. Free Enterprise: Chrysler Style
 - D. U.S. Postal Service
- III. TRADE V. PROTECTION
 - A. World markets (European Common Market, Communist bloc)
 - B. Trade imbalance and tariff policy
- IV. ENERGY POLICY
 - A. OPEC oil cartel
 - B. Carter energy program
 - C. Future energy development

V. WELFARE POLICY

- A. The Great Depression and relief
- B. Current welfare strategies
- C. Social insurance programs

VI. PROMOTING EQUALITY

- A. Toward a guaranteed income: AFDC and Supplemental Security
- B. Economic Opportunity Act
- C. Family Assistance Plan

VIII. HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

- A. Federal Housing Administration
- B. Housing the poor: public housing; rent subsidies; opening up the suburbs
- C. Model Cities

PRETEST

1. Government subsidy programs do not include
 - a. cash benefits
 - b. food stamps
 - c. tax deductions
 - d. minimum wages
2. Government subsidies over the past two hundred years have been given to
 - a. the poor
 - b. almost all groups
 - c. industry
 - d. merchant marine
3. The business most apt to disappear without government subsidies is
 - a. airlines
 - b. natural gas
 - c. merchant marine
 - d. fishing
4. The Social Security program has not encountered one of the following problems in recent years
 - a. a shrinking elderly clientele
 - b. rising disability supports
 - c. a declining fertility rate
 - d. high inflation
5. As a result of the government's bail-out of Chrysler
 - a. its future is assured
 - b. America will have a world car
 - c. Japanese imports will decline
 - d. a precedent for government aid has been established
6. The new source of energy that has the most support is _____ power

- a. nuclear
 - b. geothermal
 - c. wind
 - d. solar
7. The best example of the rising prices we must pay for raw materials is to be found in our trade with
- a. Japan
 - b. Africa
 - c. OPEC
 - d. Common Market
8. The Carter energy plan does not include
- a. deregulation of domestic oil prices
 - b. more breeder reactors
 - c. developing new energy sources
 - d. encouraging conservation
9. According to Ernest Hemingway, the rich were different from the poor because they
- a. worked harder
 - b. were more intelligent
 - c. had more money
 - d. saved their salaries
10. One form of guaranteed income now exists, known as
- a. Headstart
 - b. Federal Housing Administration
 - c. Supplemental Security Income
 - d. Family Assistance

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To examine the objectives of the subsidy approach and its application to business

- 1. The chief objective of subsidy programs is promotion of _____
- 2. Government aid to small business consists of _____, _____ and _____
- 3. Tax expenditures aid for business consists chiefly of _____ from taxation

Match the items in the right-hand column (types of subsidies) with those at the left.

- 4. sheep raisers
 - 5. investors
 - 6. students
 - 7. elderly
 - 8. airlines
 - a. tax incentives
 - b. benefits in kind
 - c. cash benefits
 - d. credit subsidies
9. Tax benefits are now classified under the tax code as _____

10. Maritime subsidies are justified by the claim that they help safeguard the nation's _____
11. The bail-out of Chrysler by the national government consisted of _____ (guaranteeing/granting) a loan of \$1.5 billion
12. Critics of the Chrysler bail-out declared that the company's problems resulted from _____
13. Some economists are now urging a new partnership between government, business and labor that they call the _____ of America
14. The U.S. Postal Service (Canada excepted) has the world's _____ first class mail rate
15. If we are to have continued economic growth, we must _____ our exports
16. ITT is an example of a _____ corporation
17. The principal device used by governments to protect their industry against foreign imports has been the _____
18. Most of the Carter energy program emphasizes _____ and _____ energy sources
19. Energy costs have risen rapidly in the United States, chiefly because of the _____ oil cartel
20. Among the undeveloped sources of energy, the most promising appears to be _____ power
21. The number of Americans at the poverty level is approximately _____ million
22. The largest relief program today is _____
23. Effective in 1974, the federal government guaranteed a minimum income to the _____, _____, _____
24. To discourage the concentration of the poor in concentrated urban areas, government has experimented with _____ instead of public housing
25. The average Social Security monthly payment to retired workers is _____
26. For a long period Social Security as a program was non-controversial because its true _____ were not apparent

27. Social Security taxes could be reduced if Medicare were financed by _____ taxes rather than payroll taxes

POSTTEST

1. One of the following is not a subsidy program
 - a. grants-in-aid
 - b. graduated income tax
 - c. price supports
 - d. loan guarantee
2. Subsidies ideally are provided to advance
 - a. public purposes
 - b. impoverished students
 - c. American exporters
 - d. private oil companies
3. The Small Business Administration is not designed to aid small companies in one of the following ways
 - a. financial counseling
 - b. research
 - c. flood loans
 - d. taking a national census
4. The government of the United States does not provide one of the following services to aid the business community
 - a. loans for the expansion of small business
 - b. issuing of patents
 - c. operating an exchange for the sale of stock
 - d. collecting data on income and housing
5. The U.S. Postal Service today has all but one of the following characteristics
 - a. It is the largest nonmilitary department
 - b. It must establish its rates to show a profit
 - c. It is not presently self-supporting
 - d. It is governed by a board of governors
6. The current U.S. trend in foreign trade is toward
 - a. a lowering of tariff barriers
 - b. increased protectionism
 - c. more cooperation with the Common Market
 - d. a closer working relationship with Japan
7. The Federal Housing Administration has been most useful in providing housing for
 - a. the wealthy
 - b. middle-income people
 - c. veterans
 - d. the ghetto poor

8. Characteristics of the American poor are that
- a. breadwinners have meager skills
 - b. they are white
 - c. they are over 65
 - d. all of these
9. The "oldster boom" in Social Security of the year 2000 will be financed by
- a. new type E Bonds
 - b. the old people themselves
 - c. today's college students
 - d. children now in kindergarten
10. A windfall tax is one levied on
- a. capital gains
 - b. energy from the air
 - c. lottery winnings
 - d. increased profits from energy sales

KEY CONCEPTS

- Define: The philosophical assumptions underlying the subsidy concept
- Cite: Two specific examples of subsidies to business, farmers, homeowners, and students
- Explain: Why older tariff policies are obsolete in a world of multinational corporations
- Explain: And give examples of cultural poverty and show how this affects welfare policy
- Consider: Where and how the poor should be housed
- Describe:
- a. The problems associated with existing energy sources
 - b. The problems and potential of new energy sources
- Debate: The wisdom of the decision to bail out Chrysler
- Consider: Problems of the existing Social Security program and modifications that have been proposed

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. d
2. b
3. c
4. a
5. d
6. d
7. c
8. b
9. c
10. c

Programmed Review:

1. public purposes
2. counseling; research; loans
3. exemptions
4. c
5. a
6. d
7. b
8. c
9. tax expenditure
10. security
11. guaranteeing
12. mismanagement
13. reindustrialization
14. cheapest
15. increase
16. multinational
17. tariff
18. conservation; new
19. OPEC
20. solar
21. 30
22. AFDC
23. elderly; blind; disabled
24. rent subsidies
25. \$330
26. cost
27. income

Posttest:

1. b
2. a
3. d
4. c
5. b
6. b

7. b
8. d
9. c
10. d

Chapter 23

The politics of taxing and spending

Many bitter political battles center around government's role in our economic system. How can we curb inflation? How should we reform the tax system? Should we balance the budget? What policies should we adopt to keep us both solvent and prosperous? In this chapter, we examine the dimensions of these conflicts.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. METHODS TO INFLUENCE SOCIETY
 - A. Regulation
 - B. Promotion
 - C. Direct management
- II. RAISING MONEY
 - A. Levying taxes (types)
 - B. The politics and machinery of taxation
 - C. Borrowing money
- III. SPENDING MONEY
 - A. Major expenditures
 - B. The federal budget: formulation; processing; auditing
- IV. MANAGING MONEY
 - A. The currency system
 - B. Banks and lending institutions
 - C. The Federal Reserve System

V. MANAGING THE ECONOMY

- A. From hands-off to Keynes
- B. The Employment Act of 1946
- C. The machinery of economic control
- D. Dilemmas of recession-inflation

VI. PRESIDENT CARTER AND TAX REFORM

VII. NEW FISCAL PROPOSALS

- A. Kemp-Roth (supply side economics)
- B. Tax Indexing
- C. Value-added tax
- D. Wage-Price Controls

PRETEST

1. The national debt in 1980 was approximately
 - a. \$1 trillion
 - b. \$200 million
 - c. \$800 billion
 - d. \$1 billion
2. The total budget of the United States government for 1981 was approximately
 - a. \$100 billion
 - b. \$450 billion
 - c. \$650 billion
 - d. \$750 billion
3. The national budget is formulated by
 - a. the General Accounting Office
 - b. the president
 - c. the OMB
 - d. the secretary of the treasury
4. The Federal Reserve banks serve all but one of the following functions
 - a. insure bank deposits
 - b. serve as depositories for government funds
 - c. control credit
 - d. clear checks
5. The Federal Reserve Board is responsible to
 - a. Congress
 - b. the president
 - c. the Treasury
 - d. no specific superior
6. The economist who first urged that government should fill any gaps left by a deficit of private spending and investment was

- a. Adam Smith
 - b. John M. Keynes
 - c. John K. Galbraith
 - d. Paul Samuelson
7. Current economic theory would argue that inflation can be reduced by all but one of the following government actions
- a. increasing the money supply
 - b. raising interest rates
 - c. raising taxes
 - d. reducing government spending
8. Strategy for controlling the ups and downs of the economy is handicapped today because of
- a. the slow process of congressional approval
 - b. a lack of statistical data
 - c. the inability to control interest rates
 - d. the continuing argument as to whether government has any responsibility
9. The basic law establishing government as a central factor in providing prosperity was the
- a. Employment Act of 1946
 - b. Joint Economic Report of 1968
 - c. Taft-Hartley Act
 - d. Federal Reserve Act of 1913
10. Stagflation describes an economy with
- a. low unemployment; high prices
 - b. high unemployment; falling prices
 - c. high unemployment; rising prices
 - d. general stagnation

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To summarize the sources from which the national government secures its revenues

1. The most important influence government has on the economy is the ways in which it _____ and _____ money
2. The major dilemma of government economic managers today is that of controlling _____ without creating massive unemployment
3. All levels of government today spend approximately _____ (one-quarter/one-third) of the national income
4. Benjamin Franklin once said that nothing was certain but death and _____

5. The greatest single source of income for the federal government is the _____ tax
6. An income tax that has higher rates for higher incomes is called _____
7. Social Security taxes are _____ because they fall most heavily on low-income people
8. Taxes on liquor are classified as _____ taxes
9. The _____ usually originates tax legislation
10. Approximately _____ percent of the national budget goes to pay interest on the national debt

Knowledge Objective: To determine the manner in which the national government spends its revenues

11. The two largest categories of spending in rank order are _____ and _____
12. Each year the national government spends over _____ per capita
13. Total expenditures of the national government are _____ billion annually
14. Departmental budgets are coordinated by the Office of the _____
15. The congressional agency that runs a check on government expenditures (including performance auditing) is _____

Knowledge Objective: To define the manner in which the national government manages the money supply

16. Money is less important in our total economy than _____
17. Federal Reserve notes _____ (can/cannot) be exchanged for gold
18. All national banks are members of the _____
19. Depositors have their accounts insured up to _____ in FDIC member banks
20. To encourage or discourage borrowing, the Federal Reserve Board raises or lowers the _____ rate

Knowledge Objective: To analyze policies used by the national government to manage the economy

21. The British economist _____ urged government intervention if private investment was inadequate
22. The president officially relies on a Council of _____ for economic policy
23. The economic planning and theory group that reports to Congress is the _____
24. In stressing tax reform, President Carter was highly critical of tax _____
25. President Carter fixed as economic goals the curbing of _____, reform of _____ and balancing _____

Knowledge Objective: To review new proposals for government fiscal control

26. Two members of Congress, _____ and _____ are identified with a proposal that would cut taxes by 30 per cent in three years
27. A new emphasis is now being placed on _____ side economics
28. The proposal that links tax rates to the rate of inflation is called tax _____
29. The _____ tax would be a tax on consumption, rather than income
30. Supporters of wage-price controls argue that many prices today _____ (are/are not) fixed in a competitive market

POSTTEST

1. The U.S. government levies excise taxes on all but one of the following
 - a. gasoline
 - b. real estate
 - c. liquor
 - d. plane tickets
2. Government influences society by
 - a. regulation
 - b. promotion
 - c. direct management
 - d. all of these

3. The dilemma facing government economists today is unemployment and
 - a. strikes
 - b. inflation
 - c. productivity
 - d. falling prices
4. Spending by all levels of government today represents _____ of American income
 - a. one-half
 - b. one-third
 - c. one-fifth
 - d. one-tenth
5. In rank order, the largest tax sources of government income are
 - a. personal income, social insurance, corporations
 - b. corporations, excises, personal income
 - c. social insurance, corporations, personal income
 - d. personal income, corporations, excises
6. In rank order, the largest expenditures of the national government are for
 - a. social programs, defense, grants
 - b. social programs, grants, defense
 - c. defense, grants, social programs
 - d. grants, defense, social programs
7. The chief objective of Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker has been
 - a. to cut unemployment
 - b. to achieve zero inflation
 - c. to reduce prime interest rates
 - d. to stimulate the economy
8. Senator Edward Kennedy was a prominent advocate of
 - a. tax indexing
 - b. wage-price controls
 - c. supply side economics
 - d. raising interest rates
9. President Carter tried to balance the budget by
 - a. increasing the money supply
 - b. cutting taxes
 - c. increasing tax revenues
 - d. cutting spending
10. Supply side economics places its chief emphasis on
 - a. production
 - b. consumption
 - c. conservation
 - d. regulation

KEY CONCEPTS

<u>Identify:</u>	The major sources of revenue for the national government and the criticisms of each tax
<u>Explain:</u>	Why government's taxing-spending policies are so important in the national economy
<u>Describe:</u>	The breakdown of the budget dollar
<u>Indicate:</u>	The way in which the national government bridges the gap between taxes and expenditures
<u>Review:</u>	The major steps in the budget process
<u>Explain:</u>	Why both Congress and the president are unhappy with the present power of the Federal Reserve Board
<u>Discuss:</u>	a. "With taxes I buy civilization." b. "Tax reform was an El Dorado that eluded President Carter."
<u>Evaluate:</u>	Four new proposals for dealing with the national economy

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. c
2. c
3. c
4. a
5. d
6. b
7. a
8. a
9. a
10. c

Programmed Review:

1. taxes; spends
2. inflation
3. one-third
4. taxes
5. personal income
6. graduated
7. regressive
8. excise
9. President

Chapter 24

The Democratic Faith

The bed-rock foundation of any government is the set of assumptions upon which it is founded. Democracy has its own special beliefs about the ability of people in general, the role of leaders, and the goals of government. Too often, in our day-to-day study of government's nuts-and-bolts, we skip over the basic ideas underlying the whole system. American students find it especially hard to stand off and look critically at their own government's philosophical underpinnings. Yet this ability is at the very core of political wisdom. It is useful to remember that most people who have lived on the planet Earth have been subject to authoritarian rulers. Our government is one of the rare exceptions, constantly faced with the question as to whether "this nation or any other nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure?"

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. PHILOSOPHICAL ASSUMPTIONS AND PARADOXES
 - A. Faith and skepticism about majority rule
 - B. Yearning for justice; inclination toward injustice
 - C. Majority rule; minority rights; checks and balances
- II. THE AMERICAN DREAM
 - A. Lack of well-defined ideology
 - B. Contradictory beliefs
 - C. Long-standing, world-wide aspirations: peace, prosperity, personal property, liberty
 - D. Components of the American Dream

1. opportunity
2. rugged individualism
3. practical experimentation
4. faith in the people's common sense
5. government as a necessary evil
6. Messianism; ethnocentrism; sense of mission
7. The American Way and the American Dream

III. THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

- A. A central question: do we have too much freedom or too little equality?
- B. Curbs on the majority and on government's power
- C. Built-in inefficiency
- D. Expanded definition of liberty with aid from government: jobs; housing; education; medical care
- E. Excessive demands on government
- F. Balancing competing demands and rights

IV. PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION

- A. Limits of direct democracy
- B. Types of representation: political parties; Congress; President
- C. Broker rule versus majority rule

V. THE DEMOCRATIC PROMISE

- A. Freedom for expression and dissent
- B. Need for good newspapers and sound schoolmasters
- C. Need for continuous, active citizenship
- D. Experimental approach
- E. Search for effective leadership
- F. Unity and diversity

PRETEST

1. The chief goal of those who wrote the Constitution was governmental
 - a. safety
 - b. workability
 - c. efficiency
 - d. competition
2. Examples of different, competing constituencies are
 - a. rich v. poor
 - b. northerners v. southerners
 - c. city v. country
 - d. all of the above
3. In their quest to protect individual liberty, the framers designed a government that
 - a. emphasized majority rule
 - b. made Congress preeminent
 - c. bolstered minority power
 - d. emphasized representative responsibility

4. In twentieth-century America, freedom has been redefined to include all but one of the following
- a. jobs
 - b. free press
 - c. good education
 - d. decent housing
5. The American Dream is most easily attainable by
- a. women over 50
 - b. white Angle-Saxon males
 - c. hard working Hispanics
 - d. high I. Q. Blacks
6. Americans have traditionally believed that economic success was the result of
- a. our abundant natural resources
 - b. self help
 - c. government programs
 - d. luck
7. Identify the unrelated word
- a. rugged individualism
 - b. materialism
 - c. resourcefulness
 - d. humanitarianism
8. Direct democracy works best when
- a. an area is small
 - b. a society is pluralistic
 - c. people are well educated
 - d. standards of living are high
9. Participatory democracy works best in
- a. colleges
 - b. cities
 - c. states
 - d. the armed forces
10. Broker rule is best described as
- a. compromises between conflicting groups
 - b. substituting interest groups for parties
 - c. regulation by the New York Stock Exchange
 - d. giving women greater power

PROGRAMMED REVIEW

Knowledge Objective: To analyze the American Dream of democracy

1. According to democratic theory the only legitimate foundation for any government is the _____
2. The democratic concept in practice is a mixture of _____ and _____

3. In the full span of human history most people have lived under _____ rule
4. The great American Champion and spokesman for democracy in the late eighteenth century was _____
5. Jefferson believed that governments were bound to degenerate that trusted _____ alone
6. John Adams believed that democracies were inevitably destroyed by _____
7. The American Dream _____ (has/has not) much in common with the aspirations of all peoples
8. Critics of American democracy charge that in practice it supports a system of _____
9. In America government has always been regarded as a necessary _____
10. The belief that Americans are a chosen people with a special destiny is called _____
11. The belief that one's group is superior to all others is called _____

Knowledge Objective: To review the basic guiding principles of American democratic government

12. _____ was the principle most valued by the framers
13. The Constitution both _____ and _____ power to national, state, and local governments
14. The constitution distributes power between the _____, _____, and _____ branches of the national government
15. The Constitution distributes power between the _____ and _____ governments
16. Ambition was made to counteract ambition by giving elected officials different and competing _____
17. Efficiency _____ (was/was not) the main goal of the framers
18. The Senate filibuster is an example of _____ power
19. The framers tried to protect individual liberty _____ government

20. The major competing values that dominate American government today are _____ and _____

Knowledge Objective: To examine the prospects for American democratic government

21. Individual needs and the needs of society must be _____
22. Our Presidential elections are an example of _____ rule
23. Negotiations between interest groups within the Congress that result in compromise legislation is called _____ rule
24. Democratic governments always have _____ groups that are free to speak out
25. Rather than dogma and theories, American democracy has emphasized _____ and _____
26. In contrast to citizens of democracies, who are expected to think for themselves, citizens of authoritarian states are expected to _____
27. The American motto e pluribus unum stresses the concept of "from many _____"
28. American citizens _____ (are/are not) normally critical of their government

POSTTEST

1. The principal objective of the framers was
- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. efficient government | c. individual liberty |
| b. representative government | d. responsive representatives |
2. The framers achieved their goal of having ambition counteract ambition by means of
- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. separation of powers | c. the amendment process |
| b. different constituencies | d. minority power |
3. The framers were least interested in making the government
- | | |
|-------------|--------------|
| a. moderate | c. safe |
| b. balanced | d. efficient |
4. Concern for the protection of civil liberties is greatest among

- a. minority ethnic groups
 - b. the poor
 - c. well-educated people
 - d. blue collar workers
5. Identify the person whose attitude is inconsistent
- a. Horatio Alger
 - b. Henry Thoreau
 - c. Davy Crockett
 - d. Walter Mitty
6. The full operation of majority rule is slowed by all of the following except
- a. federalism
 - b. free elections
 - c. Bill of Rights
 - d. checks and balances
7. Identify the unrelated word
- a. ethnocentrism
 - b. messianism
 - c. sense of mission
 - d. isolation
8. In writing the Constitution all of the following goals were sought except
- a. efficiency
 - b. competing constituencies
 - c. distribution of power
 - d. preservation of strong local governments
9. Minorities can block the will of the majority in all of following ways except
- a. Senate filibuster
 - b. Supreme Court decisions
 - c. amending the Constitution
 - d. electing strong Presidents
10. To have a democratic society one of the following practices must exist
- a. the right to dissent
 - b. total press freedom
 - c. no restrictions on obscenity
 - d. government-funded abortions

KEY CONCEPTS

- Discuss: The built-in conflict between rugged individualism and the expanded definition of liberty to include jobs and medical care
- Analyze: The paradox between our faith in the common man and our demand for exceptional leaders
- Describe: The messianic, ethnocentric characteristics of American ideology and its impact on our foreign relations

- Suggest: How unity and diversity can both be accepted as American goals
- Debate: America today is a soft, decadent, floundering nation that has lost any central sense of direction
- Describe: Why the text authors believe that no freedom should be absolute
- Suggest: A quick test to discover if a government is democratic
- Describe: The three strategies used by the framers to preserve liberty from government action
- Indicate: The tensions that exist in modern society between our two goals of liberty and equality
- Discuss:
- a. Divided government tends to be "do-nothing" government
 - b. Ours is a government by the people
 - c. Presidents should be chosen by direct popular vote

ANSWERS

Pretest:

1. a
2. d
3. c
4. b
5. b
6. b
7. d
8. a
9. a
10. a

Programmed Review:

1. will of the people
2. faith; skepticism
3. authoritarian
4. Thomas Jefferson
5. rulers
6. themselves
7. has
8. elitism
9. evil
10. messianism
11. ethnocentrism

12. liberty
13. grants; withholds
14. executive; legislative; judicial
15. national; state
16. constituencies
17. was not
18. minorities
19. against
20. liberty; equality
21. balanced
22. majority
23. broker
24. minority or opposition
25. pragmatism; experimentation
26. obey
27. one
28. are

Posttest:

1. c
2. b
3. d
4. c
5. d
6. b
7. d
8. a
9. d
10. a

GUIDE TO GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, 11/E

(3 Volumes: BASIC; NATIONAL; NATIONAL, STATE, AND LOCAL)

Raymond L. Lee/Dorothy A. Palmer/James A. Burkhart

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